DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 316 486 SO 020 680

AUTHOR	Berger, Karl; And Others
TITLE	America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: Looking to the Future. Teacher's Resource Book.
INSTITUTION	Brown Univ., Providence, RI. Center for Foreign Policy Development.
PUB DATE	Aug 89
NOTE	161p.; For related document, see SO 020 679.
AVAILABLE FROM	Center for Foreign Policy Development, Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Area Studies; *Conflict Resolution; Decision Making; *Diplomatic History; Disarmament; Foreign Countries; *Foreign Policy; *Futures (of Society); Human Relations; International Cooperation; *International Relations; Learning Modules; National Defense; Nuclear Warfare; Peace; Problem Solving; Resource Units; Secondary Education; Units of Study; War; World Affairs
IDENTIFIERS	*USSR

ABSTRACT

This curriculum project focuses on U.S.-Soviet relations and the choices that U.S. citizens face today in addressing the Soviet Union and the threat of nuclear war. This book is intended as a resource guide to accompany a 22-minute video presentation and student text that are part of the "Four Futures" curriculum. The resource book includes the curriculum's 6 lesson plans and 27 supplemental activities, along with evaluation criteria and homework assignments for each lesson. The curriculum's six parts are: (1) "Getting Started," (2) "Providing a Historical Background," (3) "Introducing the Futures," (4) "'Playing' with the Futures," (5) "Four Futures Balloting," and (6) "Moving Beyond the Futures." Appendices contain optional evaluation materials, as well as 111 additional references and information to supplement classroom discussion and student research. (AS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED316486

America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms:

Looking to the Future

Teacher's Resource Book

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
SUSAN GRASECK
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SO 020 680

Center for Foreign Policy Development

Brown University

Teacher's Resource Book

AMERICA, THE SOVIETS AND NUCLEAR ARMS:

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

A project of the Center for Foreign Policy Development

Brown University · Box 1948 · Providence, RI 02912 (401) 863-3465

Teacher's Resource Book

AMERICA, THE SOVIETS AND NUCLEAR ARMS:

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

by Karl Berger

with Debra Javeline, Mark Lindeman,
Maryam Mohit and Anne Paris

Graphic and text layout by Anne Hart
Cover graphic by Ivan Ostrovsky

© Copyright August 1989
Center for Foreign Policy Development
Brown University
All rights reserved

Table of Contents

About the Center 6

About the Project 7

Introduction 9
10 The Four Futures
11 The Four Futures as an Educational Framework
12 Overview of the Curriculum
14 Evaluation of Student Performance
14 Before You Begin

The Curriculum at a Glance 16

1 Getting Started 19
20 *Supplemental Activity #1: Our World, Our Future*
22 The Soviets, the Nuclear Threat and Our Values
24 Tough Questions Americans Face Today
27 Student questionnaire

2 Providing a Historical Background 29
30 U.S.-Soviet Relations since World War II
33 *Supplemental activity #2:* Additional Historical Research
34 *Supplemental activity #3:* Examining the Past, Present and Future
35 *Supplemental activity #4:* Oral History of the U.S.
36 *Supplemental activity #5:* The U.S. before the Cold War (honors)
37 *Supplemental activity #6:* The History of the American Future (honors)
38 *Supplemental activity #7:* Imagining the Future

3 Introducing the Four Futures 41
42 Option A: "Traditional" Introduction to the Futures
46 Option B: "Student-to-Student" Introduction to the Futures
50 Supplemental Notes on the Futures for Classroom Discussion
54 *Supplemental activity #8:* The Four Futures in American History
55 *Supplemental activity #9:* The Four Futures in American History (honors)
56 *Supplemental activity #10:* The Futures in 2030
57 *Supplemental activity #11:* The Four Futures and Trust
58 *Supplemental activity #12:* Make Your Own "Four Futures Campaign"

4 "Playing" with the Futures 59
60 Advocating a Future
62 *Supplemental activity #13:* The Futures and Current Issues
64 *Supplemental activity #14:* The Futures and U.S. History
66 *Supplemental activity #15:* Crisis!
67 *Supplemental activity #16:* The Four Futures and the"Brief History"
68 *Supplemental activity #17:* Interpreting the Daily News
69 *Supplemental activity #18:* Satire

5 Four Futures Balloting 71
72 Balloting
74 Four Futures Ballot
76 Four Futures Ballot Tabulator
77 *Supplemental activity #19:* Discussing the Ballot Results
78 *Supplemental activity #20:* Comparing the Results with a National Sample
79 *Supplemental activity #21:* Reporting the Results Beyond the Classroom

6 Moving Beyond the Futures 81
82 Can You Think of a "Future 5"?
85 *Supplemental activity #22:* Forging a Classroom Consensus
86 *Supplemental activity #23:* Presidential Election Role Play
87 *Supplemental activity #24:* Considering the Soviet Perspective
88 *Supplemental activity #25:* Tough Issues Facing the U.S. (honors)
89 *Supplemental activity #26:* Reexamining U.S. History (honors)
90 *Supplemental activity #27:* Participating in the National Debate

Appendices 91
93 A: Teaching Aids
99 B: Evaluation Materials
117 C: Notes on the Futures and Current Issues
131 D: Notes on the Futures and U.S. History
141 E: Glossary
147 F: The Superpowers and the Nuclear Arms Race
159 G: Bibliography
169 Ballot

About the Center

The Center for Foreign Policy Development was established at Brown University in 1981 to develop -- through interaction among specialists, elected officials and the public -- policies for dealing with nuclear weapons and the Soviet Union that most effectively serve the interests of the United States. The Center is affiliated with the Institute for International Studies at Brown University, and is supported by private contributions, foundation grants and Brown University. The Chair of the Board of Advisers is Thomas J. Watson, Jr., former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Chairman Emeritus of the IBM Corporation.

Senior Research Staff:

Mark Garrison, Director, is a former Foreign Service officer. He headed the State Department's Office of Soviet Union Affairs and was deputy ambassador of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Co-editor of *Shared Destiny: Fifty Years of U.S.-Soviet Relations*, he has written about U.S.-Soviet relations for *The New York Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor.*

Richard Smoke, Research Director, is the author of *National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma; War: Controlling Escalation;* and *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (with Alexander L. George). A past fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, he was co-winner of the Bancroft Prize in 1974. With Daniel Yankelovich, he authored an article in the fall 1988 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, "America's 'New Thinking,'" that analyzes the research work of *The Public, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms.* Dr. Smoke has held research positions at the Kennedy School at Harvard and at the Wright Institute in Berkeley, and co-founded Peace and Common Security in San Francisco.

Alan Sherr, Associate Director, is also director of the Center's Project on Soviet Foreign Economic Policy and International Security. A lawyer with degrees in electrical engineering, he was formerly a research fellow at the Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University. He is the founder and former president of the Lawyer's Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, and the author of *The Other Side of Arms Control.*

Jan Kalicki, Senior Adviser, is Vice President of international investment banking at Shearson Lehman Hutton. He has extensive Washington experience in foreign policy and national security affairs, and is the author of *The Pattern of Sino-American Crises.*

In 1985 the Center and the Public Agenda Foundation (see below) launched a long-term project, *The Public, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms,* designed to develop alternative choices for public debate about American security and U.S.-Soviet relations. The project offers citizens a framework for weighing the strengths and weaknesses of U.S. foreign policy alternatives and reaching a considered judgment on policy priorities. Under the direction of a nonpartisan Executive Committee and a National Council of one hundred leading Americans from all walks of life, the project assessed public and expert viewpoints on four alternative "Futures" and reported its results to political leaders, policymakers, and senior foreign policy professionals, as well as to the media.

About the Public Agenda Foundation

The Public Agenda Foundation is a nonprofit research and education organization, founded in 1975 by former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and public opinion analyst Daniel Yankelovich. Its purpose is twofold: to analyze existing public attitudes toward such complex issues as education, social welfare, science and technology, health care costs, and national security; and to present these issues to the public in a way that will encourage debate and informed judgments.

About the Project

The U.S. and the USSR: Choices for the Twenty-First Century

In the spring of 1988 the Center for Foreign Policy Development, with the cooperation of the Public Agenda Foundation, began developing educational curricula and community programming materials designed to bring public debate on nuclear arms policy, U.S. foreign policy, and U.S.-Soviet relations into the American classroom and into the mainstream American community. *The U.S. and the USSR: Choices for the Twenty-First Century* presents a framework that permits the public to reach considered judgments on these issues, drawing upon research conducted in a joint project of the Center and the Public Agenda Foundation.

This project includes development of curriculum materials for use at the secondary, undergraduate, and adult education levels, and program materials for use by civic organizations. Materials are developed to fit the educational goals of each level, to meet specified course needs, and to address the pedagogical styles of each level, using a variety of media including print, audio-visual, and computer resources.

The project draws upon the substantive expertise of the Center for Foreign Policy Development with the cooperation of the Public Agenda Foundation, and works closely with those who will use the materials. All materials are reviewed by the senior research staff of the Center.

Project Staff

Susan Graseck: *Project Director*
Ms. Graseck is director of *The U.S. and the USSR: Choices for the Twenty-First Century* at the Center for Foreign Policy Development. She served as Executive Director of the Topsfield Foundation from its inception in 1982 to 1988. She holds a M.Ed. degree and has taught at the elementary and secondary levels.

Patricia Keenan: *Curriculum Coordinator*
Ms. Keenan is responsible for the design of distribution plans and the development and coordination of support for teachers using the Project's curricular materials. She received her Ed.M. in Administration, Planning and Social Policy and holds principal certification. She is an experienced teacher of social studies in public intermediate and secondary schools.

Research Associates
Karl Berger
Mark Lindeman
William Rose

Project Assistant
Anne Hart

Research Assistants
Laura Collins
Jacqui Deegan
Maryam Mohit

Administrative Staff Assistant
Linda Gomes

National Advisory Council

Dr. Howard Swearer, Chair	Former President, Brown University Director, Institute for International Studies at Brown
Douglas Hunt	Associate Executive Director National Association of Secondary School Principals
Dr. Russell Edgerton	President, American Association of Higher Education
Hon. David Mathews	President, Kettering Foundation
Dr. Frank Newman	President, Education Commission of the States
Dr. John Silber	President, Boston University
Dr. Theodore Sizer	Professor, Brown University
Deborah Wadsworth	Executive Director, Public Agenda Foundation

Acknowledgments

More than eighty educators have contributed, in a variety of capacities, to the development of this prototype. For their helpful review of earlier drafts we thank Ann Landis, Charles Gosselink, Gail Barnaby, Vincent Doyle, Paul Graseck, John Reilly and Gloria Roma. We thank Eileen Shakespear and the teachers of the Fenway Program at Boston English High School for their valuable input. We thank Russ Maruna, Director of Social Studies for the Cleveland Public School Department, for making it possible for teachers in the Cleveland schools to cooperate with us as field testers. We thank Alex Wolle of the Baltimore Department of Education for his help in introducing us to some outstanding teachers in Baltimore. Our heartfelt thanks go to each of the teachers who field tested and reviewed this curriculum.

We particularly appreciate the encouragement and support of Mark Garrison, the Center's Director, whose foresight allowed this project to develop. We would also like to extend special thanks to Richard Smoke, the Center's Research Director, and John Doble, Vice President of the Public Agenda Foundation, for their advice and comments as key participants in the creation of the four Futures.

We wish to thank the many Center staff members who labored long hours to complete this curriculum. Lorraine Walsh, the Center's Publications Editor, deserves special thanks for her contributions to the text. Thanks also go to Jeremy Benjamin, Laura Collins, Abram Klein, Linda Gomes, and others too numerous to mention. We thank the entire Center staff for their support, both technical and emotional.

This project is an extension of the previous research project, *The Public, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms,* conducted jointly with the Public Agenda Foundation. We gratefully acknowledge the generous support for this previous project from The Bohen Foundation, Carnegie Corporation of New York, The Ford Foundation, The George Gund Foundation, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Joyce Mertz-Gillmore Foundation, North Shore Unitarian Universalists Veatch Foundation, and an anonymous contribution from a member of the Rockefeller family.

The U.S. and the USSR: Choices for the 21st Century is made possible with support from The George Gund Foundation, an anonymous member of the Rockefeller family, the Topsfield Foundation Inc., and with institutional support from the Center for Foreign Policy Development.

INTRODUCTION

U.S. foreign policy, the Soviet Union, and the nuclear arms race are frustratingly difficult subjects for the average citizen to understand. They are rife with expert jargon, arcane doctrines, and esoteric acronyms that all too often intimidate more than clarify. To make matters worse, America's experts in these fields often fundamentally disagree with one another about what the best course for U.S.-Soviet relations should be as we approach the twenty-first century.

The complexity and controversy surrounding these subjects create formidable problems for educators. How can we teach students about these issues in a balanced way? How can we teach them to integrate their knowledge into the larger context of the U.S. role in the world and its possible policies for the years ahead? And how can we ensure that our students apply this knowledge to reach informed and realistic judgments about these policies in a way befitting responsible citizens?

This curriculum attempts to cut through the complexity and controversy to the heart of the matter, by allowing students to address for themselves the fundamental questions of U.S.-Soviet relations, issues that are in the end far more important for students to consider than the merits of any one missile program, arms control treaty, or policy option. By presenting students with four alternative images, or "Futures," of U.S.-Soviet relations in the year 2010, it provides a framework for lively student-teacher discussion of these critical issues.

The Four Futures

The Futures are a major product of the joint Center for Foreign Policy Development/Public Agenda Foundation project, *The Public, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms* (see page six for more details). They were created to bridge the gap between the public and the experts, by providing a common framework for discussion of nuclear and Soviet issues. The creators of the Futures believe that only through greater discussion of our nation's long-term foreign policy goals can our nation regain the consensus it has lacked in this area since the 1960s.

The Futures emerged from a research program that included ten meetings with community leaders across the country, more than forty group discussions with cross-sections of the public, and dozens of workshops with experts and policymakers. To ensure fairness, the Futures have been examined by the Project's National Council, which consists of over one hundred prominent Americans with a wide range of views and political orientations.

The Futures are not predictions for the year 2010, nor were they constructed as self-contained prescriptions for U.S. policy. They are meant to provide a framework for public discussion of the long-term goals for U.S. policy in the nuclear age.

Each Future embodies a set of attitudes toward nuclear arms and the Soviets that large numbers of Americans share. Together the Futures present a full spectrum of basic views on U.S.-Soviet relations. While they offer a long-term perspective, each Future also prescribes a set of policies our country must implement today if we are to head toward that Future.

The four Futures* are:

"The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand," in which the U.S. achieves dominance over the Soviet Union;

"Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise," in which the superpowers significantly reduce the threat of nuclear war but remain rivals;

"Cooperative Problem Solving," in which the two sides work together closely on common concerns in order to reduce their mutual hostility; and

"Defend Only North America," in which the U.S. ends its military commitments overseas and concentrates on problems at home.

---

* A highly detailed description of the Four Futures is given in the pamphlet *Four Futures: Alternatives for Public Debate and Policy Development* (40 pp.), available from the Center. Single copies are free; additional copies cost $1.00 each.

The Four Futures as an Educational Framework

This curriculum presents students with several important questions highly relevant to their own lives: What kind of future should America strive toward? How should we deal with the Soviet Union in the coming decades? How can we preserve democracy, freedom and the other values we cherish? What is best way to avoid nuclear war? To provide a structure for students considering these questions, this curriculum presents four possible goals and scenarios, or Futures, for the year 2010.

In examining the four Futures, students face a number of challenges. As they weigh the desirability and feasibility of each of the Futures, students must consider the important pros and cons, the difficult risks and trade-offs for each. For each Future, students must determine if the long-term goals are worth the near-term policies the U.S. must implement to achieve them.

In assessing the Futures, students must grapple with the assumptions and feelings they have about the Soviets, the nuclear threat, and the role of the U.S. in the world. They must consider the same tough questions that expert policymakers do: Can we trust the Soviets? Can we afford not to? Do nuclear arms make us safer? Do treaties make us safer? Can we end the arms race? Can we win it?

Throughout the unit, the curriculum presents information on current foreign policy issues and the history of U.S.-Soviet relations. These provide a factual basis from which students may arrive at an informed and considered judgment about their own preferred goals and policies for the future.

As the unit progresses, students will compare the viewpoints of each Future's supporters on current issues in U.S. foreign policy (e.g., arms control, U.S. alliance commitments) and important past events in U.S.-Soviet relations (e.g., the building of the Berlin Wall, the INF treaty). Through role-playing, students articulate perspectives different from their own, gain a deeper understanding of varying American views, and discover how one issue or event can be interpreted in many ways.

Toward the end of the unit, students must vote for their preferred Future in a special balloting exercise. This final selection forces students to integrate and assess their thoughts on how best to deal with all the various threats to our national security.

Once they have completed this assessment students can move beyond the framework of the four Futures to create a future of their own. In the culminating lesson, "Can You Think of a 'Future 5'?" students return to their original inquiries: What kind of future should America strive toward? How should we deal with the Soviet Union in the decades ahead? How can we preserve democracy, freedom and the other values we cherish? What is the best way to avoid nuclear war? In constructing their own Future, students must temper their imagination with their increased awareness that any viable set of future goals includes real risks, trade-offs, and costs.

Thus, students complete the unit with a finer appreciation of the difficult choices America faces in the nuclear age, as well as an informed sense of where they, the leaders of tomorrow, think our nation should be headed.

Overview of the Curriculum

This curriculum is intended for all levels of high school classes, grades 9-12. It is suited for social studies classes that focus on U.S. or international history as well as those oriented in the present (e.g., current events, civics, political science, problems of democracy, future studies).

There is no standard length to this curriculum. Given 45-minute class periods, the unit's seven lessons require two weeks to cover. However, this curriculum also includes a number of supplemental activities that help the students use the Futures framework to examine thoughtfully a variety of issues raised in their text and in other sources. Generous use of these supplemental activities can extend the length of this unit to three-to-four weeks or more.

The curriculum has been designed for all levels of student ability. However, exceptionally difficult supplemental activities are marked "honors."

"The Curriculum at a Glance," a chart on pages 16-17, illustrates the sequence of lessons, and the time and materials required for each.

Video

The curriculum's 22-minute VHS video tape introduction to the four Futures is both simple and informative, and suitable for all ages.

Student Text

The curriculum's 71-page student text explains the unit and describes and examines the four Futures. Each ten-page Future section describes the Future, its near-term policy implications, its economic cost, its fundamental assumptions, and its historical roots. Each section provides possible arguments pro and con concerning the Future's feasibility and impact upon the rest of the world. Throughout, there are special sidebars and captions linking the Futures to relevant issues and past events. The student text also contains a brief history and timeline of important events in U.S.-Soviet relations, two 11" x 17" matrices examining the Futures' perspectives on current issues and important events in U.S.-Soviet relations, as well as maps and a glossary.

A "Four Futures Ballot" is found in the back of the Teacher's Resource Book. This should be copied for student use.

Teacher's Resource Book

This resource book contains the curriculum's seven lesson plans and 30 supplemental activities for teaching with the Futures. Each lesson offers evaluation criteria and lists the homework for the following lesson.

The resource book divides the curriculum's seven lessons into six parts, described below. Each part consists of lesson plan(s) and related supplemental activities. The resource book's appendices contain optional evaluation materials, as well as additional references and information to supplement classroom discussion and student research.

Part One: Getting Started (pp. 19-28)

A set of two lessons (taking a total of three 45-minute class periods) and one supplemental activity allows students to articulate and examine their knowledge and beliefs about the U.S., the Soviet Union, and the nuclear issue before they focus on the Futures.

Part Two: Providing a Historical Background (pp. 29-40)

One lesson (taking one or more periods) and six supplemental activities prepare students for the Futures by allowing them to examine past events in U.S.-Soviet relations and consider what the future may hold.

Part Three: Introducing the Futures (pp. 41-58)

One lesson (taking three to five periods) and five supplemental activities introduce students to the four alternative Futures. This lesson has two options: Option A introduces the Futures in a "traditional" pedagogical manner, while Option B challenges students to teach one another about the Futures.

Part Four: "Playing" with the Futures (pp. 59-70)

One lesson (taking one period) and six supplemental activities challenge students to better understand and appreciate the perspective each Future offers. Students play the roles of strong supporters of the different Futures, and in some activities apply these perspectives in examining current issues and historical events in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Part Five: Four Futures Balloting (pp. 71-80)

One lesson (taking one period) and three supplemental activities allow students to vote on which Future they find the most desirable and feasible, and subsequently to discuss the results of their balloting.

Part Six: Moving Beyond the Futures (pp. 81-90)

One lesson (flexible length) challenges students to develop a "Future 5," an imaginative but realistic Future of their own that addresses their particular concerns and point of view. The six supplemental activities let students apply the knowledge and skills they have acquired toward understanding and discussing "real-life" issues and events.

Evaluation of Student Performance

Each lesson in this curriculum contains a section on evaluating student performance. Overall, students are evaluated on the quality of their participation in group and individual presentations throughout the unit. All students must thoughtfully fill out the "Four Futures Ballot" in Part Five, and develop a carefully articulated "Future 5" in Part Six.

Optionally, teachers may evaluate students on their knowledge of the Four Futures and U.S.-Soviet relations since World War II. These quizzes and tests are found in Appendix B: Evaluation Materials.

Before You Begin

Avoiding Bias

Our experience has shown that even the most exceptional teachers have difficulty presenting the Futures in an unbiased manner. Since the Futures embrace a wide range of public thinking about the Soviets and the nuclear threat, teachers can unintentionally invalidate some of these perspectives by using improper language. Here are two examples:

> A teacher tells students that they must decide whether a certain Future "improves our relations with the Soviet Union." This phrasing invalidates Future 4, which does not consider superpower relations important. Furthermore, it totally rejects the Future 1 perspective, which holds that improving relations with the Soviets in a lasting way is impossible as long as the USSR remains a superpower.
>
> A teacher tells students that they must decide whether a certain Future "effectively confronts the spread of communism." This phrasing invalidates Future 3, which thinks the threat can be mitigated through cooperation rather than confrontation, as well as Future 4, which doesn't consider communism important as long as North America is well defended.

In both cases, the teacher should have told students they must "decide whether the Future will allow the U.S. to avoid nuclear war while preserving our values," which is the goal of all four Futures.

Teachers should take great care that students feel no pressure -- from other students, or unconsciously from the teacher -- to think there is one Future above all others that is "correct." Otherwise, students will benefit far less from this unit.

The Focus of This Curriculum

The focus of this curriculum is U.S.-Soviet relations and the choices Americans face today in addressing the Soviet Union and the threat of nuclear war. Consequently, this curriculum considers issues related to U.S.-Soviet relations (such as the Third World) only in this context. For reasons of simplicity, the four Futures do not directly address other issues, albeit important ones, that can be seen as outside the U.S.-Soviet paradigm, such as North-South issues, the growing economic power of Japan, and domestic issues such as the national debt. Hence, we discourage using the four Futures when directly addressing these subjects in class in their "pure" form rather than in the context of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Addressing Student Concerns About Other Issues

During the unit some students may complain that they do not like one Future in particular but favor parts of different Futures, or that none of the Futures focuses on what they see as the most important problems facing the U.S. (e.g., the drug problem).

Their concerns should not be squelched. On the contrary, as the unit progresses students should be encouraged to identify the realistic goals and possible policies that would shape their own ideal Future for the year 2010. You can direct their attention to page 65 of the student text, "Can You Think of a 'Future 5'?" As the Part 6 lesson plan of the same title details, students' Future 5 may bring in any number of issues not directly related to U.S.-Soviet relations. However, a realistic plan to avoid nuclear war while preserving American values should be central to their Future 5.

The Curriculum and "Current Issues"

As any teacher of "current issues" knows, the international situation can change, often drastically, over a short time. U.S.-Soviet relations have been changing rapidly in the last several years, and they may well continue to do so. These changes should not diminish the usefulness and vitality of the four Futures framework, since it is based on long-term goals rather than short-term policy shifts.

However, although we have taken great pains to ensure that our materials are as current as possible, we cannot assure you that all of our materials -- specifically the supplemental information -- will maintain their topicality and usefulness over the long run. Periodically, new editions of this curriculum will appear that will update certain elements and make slight modifications to the Futures framework.

The Curriculum at a Glance

Lesson	Page	Class periods required (1 period = 45 minutes)
Part 1/Getting Started 19		
Supplemental Activity #1 (p. 20)		
The Soviets, the Nuclear Threat, and Our Values	22	1
Tough Questions Americans Face Today	24	2
Part 2/Providing a Historical Background 29		
U.S.-Soviet Relations since World War II	30	1 or more
Supplemental activities #2 - 7 (pp. 33 - 38)		
Part 3/Introducing the Four Futures 41		
Option A: "Traditional" Introduction	42	3 - 5
Option B: "Student-to-Student" Introduction	46	
Supplemental activities #8 - 12 (pp. 54 - 58)		
Part 4/"Playing" with the Futures 59		
Advocating a Future	60	1
Supplemental activities #13 - 18 (pp. 62 - 69)		
Part 5/Four Futures Balloting 71		
Balloting	72	1
Supplemental activities #19 - 21 (pp. 77 - 79)		
Part 6/Moving Beyond the Futures 81		
Can You Think of a "Future 5"?	82	Flexible
Supplemental activities #22 - 27 (pp. 85 - 90)		

NOTE: Teachers wishing to cover this material in less than two weeks may consider focusing on Parts 2, 3, and 5.

	Activity	Materials for teacher	Homework
	Discussion		
	Fill out questionnaire; Prepare presentations Group presentation	Questionnaire, p. 27 Texts for students	Read: Student text, pp. 6 - 17
	Discussion Quiz (optional)	Student text, pp. 6 - 13; Timeline, student text, pp. 14 - 15; Maps, student text, pp. 16 - 17 Quiz, p. 101; Answers, p. 113	*Option A* -- Begin student text, pp. 18 - 58. *Options B* -- Read: Assigned Future
	View video; Discussion; Quizzes, test (optional)	22-minute Video; Student text, pp. 18, 19 - 58, 59 Quizzes, pp. 103 - 110; Answers, pp. 114 - 117 Test, p. 111 - 112; Answers, p. 116	Finish reading student text, pp. 19 - 58; student text, p. 59 Reread assigned Future in preparation for group presentation Read: Student text, pp. 60 - 63
	Group presentation; View video; Quizzes, test (optional)	Student text, pp. 18, 19 - 58, 59; 22-minute Video Quizzes, pp. 103 - 110; Answers, pp. 114 - 115 Test, p. 111; Answers, p. 116	Finish reading student text, pp. 19 - 58; student text, p. 59 Reread new assigned Future in preparation for group presentation Read: Student text, pp. 60 - 63
	Group preparation; Group presentation	Student text, pp. 19 - 58; Matrices, student text, pp. 60 - 63	Review: Student text, pp. 19 - 58 Read: Student text, pp. 70 - 71
	Discussion; View video (optional) Balloting	Student text, p. 60; 22-minute Video (optional) Ballot, pp. 74 - 75, 169 - 170; Ballot tabulator, p. 76	Read: Student text, p. 65
	Flexible: Discussion Presentation Writing	Student text, p. 65	

PART ONE: GETTING STARTED

For students whose study of foreign policy has been limited, Part One includes a supplemental activity designed to help students identify the links between the problems we face, other nations, and U.S. foreign policy. The lesson also introduces students to a framework for thinking about the future and "solutions" to our problems that will be used throughout this curriculum.

The first core lesson in Part One, "The Soviets, the Nuclear Threat and Our Values," allows students to articulate their basic knowledge, beliefs and attitudes about the Soviets, the nuclear threat, and American values prior to the introduction to the Futures.

The second lesson, "Tough Questions Americans Face Today," challenges students to consider some basic but fundamental and difficult questions that undergird our national security debate, such as: Can we trust the Soviets? Does having nuclear weapons make our country safer?

The two lessons in Part One take a total of three 45-minute class periods. We suggest that students not receive their books until Part Two: "Providing a Historical Background."

Table of Contents

20 *Supplemental Activity #1:* Our World, Our Future

22 The Soviets, the Nuclear Threat and Our Values

24 Tough Questions Americans Face Today

27 Student Questionnaire: Tough Questions Americans Face Today

Supplemental activity #1: Our World, Our Future

Objective:

This activity asks students to think about connections between the problems we see at home in the United States, and events or policies occurring with other nations. Identifying these links makes U.S. foreign policy decisions an important part of any solution to these problems and thus, less remote and more meaningful to students. The questions presented in this lesson give students a basic framework for thinking about problems our nation faces, and for evaluating solutions to these problems.

By asking students to identify goals, and to advocate a plan for achieving these goals, the lesson casts them as decision-makers (a role they will assume several times in this curriculum). The debate over solutions will demonstrate to students, first hand, that multiple perspectives on the same issue exist among reasonable people.

Time: One or two 45 minute class periods.

Procedure:

1. Tell students that in the days ahead they are going to be grappling with the difficult issues of U.S.-Soviet relations and nuclear arms policies, but that there are many other problems this country has as well. The class will take a little time to talk about some of these now, and may return to them again at the end of the unit.

2. Ask students to list their answers to the question: What are the biggest problems America faces?

3. After a few minutes, ask students to share their responses with the class, explaining why they think each problem is so important. Tell students that there will not be time for detailed debate on each problem, but that people may view the importance of problems in many different ways. List on the chalkboard all problems students identify.

4. After a list of several issues has been generated, ask students: Which of these problems is connected in some way with other countries in the world? (Circle problems students identify and ask them to briefly explain the connections they see with other countries.)

5. Of the issues identified in #4, choose *one* to have students explore in greater depth. This is Problem X. (Choose any problem for which you suspect students will have varying solutions.) Ask students, in pairs or individually, to write down their answers to the following questions :

   -- Describe your goal for Problem X. What has happened with Problem X by the year 2010? Will it still exist at all? What new remedies or responses will we have for this problem? How will Americans think about this problem?

   -- What does this country need to do in the 1990s to begin moving toward your solution for Problem X in 2010?

-- How much will your plan cost the U.S? (Actual dollar amounts are not necessary, but students should have a sense as to whether aspects of their plan will be extremely expensive, manageable, or insignificant as a national expense). Where could this money come from?

-- Describe two or three basic beliefs or values that have shaped your plan. (Students may need some prompting questions: Why is it right to do what you suggest? Why should we spend money in these ways?)

-- What are some of the risks and trade-offs of this plan? What problems might interfere with your plan?

-- Why do you believe this plan can work? Do you have any evidence that suggests it will successfully solve Problem X?

(Because these questions provide a structure for students to discuss current and possible future issues confronting Americans, it may be useful outside of this curriculum.)

6. Ask a few students to present the plans they developed, allowing other students to respond to these plans. The goal here is to direct the discussion in such a manner as to demonstrate that different types of solutions to Problem X, grounded in different values and beliefs, exist within the class.

7. To refocus on the future of U.S.-Soviet relations, explain to students that their discussion of Problem X demonstrates that people often have many different solutions to the same problem, all based upon differing goals, values, and beliefs. As with Problem X, Americans hold a wide variety of opinions about what we should do about nuclear weapons and our relationship with the Soviet Union. This unit will examine four different plans for dealing with problems of U.S.-Soviet relations and nuclear arms. The same questions are asked of these four plans, or "Futures," that are asked of the students' plan for Problem X. Think about these questions, your values and goals as you consider the pros and cons of each Future. At the end of this unit you will have the opportunity to develop your own plan for U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union, and nuclear weapons.

The Soviets, the Nuclear Threat and Our Values

Objective:

Each alternative Future promises a different way to avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving our values. Before they encounter the four Futures, it is important that students get a chance to articulate their personal thoughts and feelings about the Soviets, the nuclear threat, and our values, and to examine areas of disagreement.

In this lesson, students share their knowledge, however incomplete, about the Soviets, the nuclear threat and American values. Students will probably be suprised by how much they actually know about these subjects, if only from watching television. The teacher's role in this lesson should be that of a "knowledgeable moderator," supplying information to the student's inquiry only when necessary. Later lessons will provide the students with the information necessary for responsible discussion of the Futures.

This lesson also gives students a chance to express their feelings about the Soviets and the nuclear threat, and to come to a better understanding of what they feel are important American values.

Students should understand that Americans disagree, often strongly, about these issues (e.g., whether the Soviet Union is a threat to the U.S.). Where there is a divergence in opinion on an issue, the teacher should encourage it. Of course, it is crucial that the teacher ask the class only neutral questions about the Soviets, the nuclear threat, and American values, to avoid leading the class into a certain way of thinking.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials: None

Suggested Procedure:

1. Explain to students that today you would like to hear about what they know and feel about three important subjects. Place on the board three large headings: "The Soviets," "The Threat of Nuclear War," and "American Values (what Americans value and want to preserve)." Stress that it is natural that some of their opinions may conflict, as there is considerable disagreement on these subjects within the expert community and within the general population.

2. Ask students first to establish what they know about the Soviet Union. If they require prompting, ask them neutral questions such as:

   -- What is it?
   -- Where is it?
   -- What do you know about our relationship with this country?
   -- Does anyone know anything about Gorbachev?

   Write their responses on the board in note form.

3. Then ask:

   -- How do you feel about the Soviet Union?

Point out areas of disagreement in their responses. Tell them that many Americans believe that the Soviet Union is the greatest threat facing our country, while many other Americans believe that it doesn't threaten our country at all.

4. Continue on to "The Threat of Nuclear War." Establish what they know about the threat of nuclear war. If they require prompting, ask them neutral questions such as:

    -- What is nuclear war?
    -- How might it happen?
    -- What might happen to the U.S. if there was one?

    Write their responses on the board in note form.

5. Then ask:

    -- Is it likely that there will be a nuclear war?
    -- How does the threat of nuclear war make you feel?

6. Continue on to "American Values." Explain that American values are qualities of American life that we feel are so important that we would never want to give them up, qualities we want to preserve for future generations no matter what. What are our values? If the students require prompting, you might ask:

    -- What do we find special about our way of life?
    -- What rights or freedoms do Americans have that they value strongly?
    -- What makes these rights special?
    -- What could threaten these important values? (e.g., invasion by an enemy)
    -- Is remaining a "superpower" an important value?

    Write their responses on the board in note form. Point out areas of agreement and disagreement.

Evaluation:

Since the role of the teacher in this opening lesson is primarily that of "knowledgeable moderator," dispensing little or no information, evaluation of student performance is based solely on class participation.

Tough Questions Americans Face Today

Objective:

Americans have a wide range of opinion about how to deal with the Soviets and the nuclear arms race, and what should be the role of the U.S. in the world.

This lesson introduces students to the national debate by first presenting them with five fundamental and hotly-debated national security questions:

-- Does the Soviet Union threaten our country and our values?
-- Can we and the Soviets end the nuclear arms race?
-- Can we trust the Soviets?
-- Does having nuclear weapons make our country safer?
-- Should America get involved in wars in faraway countries?

Before encountering the four Futures, it is important that students experience first-hand how a national security question can be answered differently by different people. In the second part of this lesson, pairs of student groups present two different sides of some or all of these questions (depending on class size). In doing this, they should be more willing later to entertain the different perspectives offered by the four Futures before picking their favorite Future.

Time: Two 45-minute class periods

Materials:

"Tough Questions" questionnaire, p. 27
Student text (distribute)

Suggested Procedure:

Period One:

1. Distribute the questionnaire to the students. Tell them they will not be graded, and that there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. However, answers must not be merely "yes," "no," or "it depends." Students must explain their reasoning. After 15 minutes, students should pass in the questionnaires.

2. Divide the students into an *even number* of groups, composed of three to five students in each group. Assign two groups to cover one of each of the five questions mentioned above. (If the class is small, it is all right that some questions will be left out.) Explain that for the rest of the class, the groups will prepare to advocate a certain position on their assigned question on the following day.

   Each group will handle one side of the question. For example: Group A, covering question #1, must advocate why we think the Soviets threaten our country and our values. Group B, covering the same question, will advocate why the Soviets *do not* threaten our country and our values. Group C might advocate that having nuclear weapons *does* make America safer, while Group D advocates that having nuclear weapons *does not* make America safer.

Note: In splitting the students up into groups, it is better to place notably "hawkish" or "dovish" students in groups advocating positions different from their own. In addition to exposing these students to a perspective they may not have thoughtfully considered, it prevents them from easily imposing their more developed opinions on students who may have given less thought to a particular question. The previous day's discussion may have shed light on who these "hawkish" or "dovish" students are.

3. The groups should prepare to make a five-minute presentation to the rest of the class advocating their position. Following their presentation, they will be questioned by the teacher and other classmates. They will be graded on their performance before the class and the thoughtfulness of their arguments. Although they need not research, students should be prepared to offer simple illustrative examples to support their points (e.g., "The Soviets threaten us, because one day they might attack us with nuclear weapons").

Period Two:

1. The student groups take turns delivering a five-minute presentation of the position they are advocating on the national security question they were assigned.
2. Following each presentation, the teacher may ask questions of the group to clarify their position, but should strongly encourage the class to question the students as well.
3. At the end of class, distribute the student text. Make special note of its timeline (pp. 14-15), maps (pp. 16-17), and glossary (pp. 66-69).

Evaluation:

Since the role of the teacher in this second lesson remains that of "knowledgeable moderator," evaluation of student performance in this lesson is based solely on classroom participation. Student participation can be evaluated on the basis of:

-- articulation of the position they must develop and advocate;
-- the thoughtfulness of questions as audience members; and
-- the thoughtfulness of responses to audience questions as advocates of their position.

Homework for Part Two (pp. 29-40):

Students should read the "The Four Futures: the Choice is Yours," student text pp. 6-7, "America, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History," student text pp. 8-13, "The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1941-2010" (timeline), student text pp. 14-15, and should look over the maps on pp. 16-17 of the student text.

NAME: ______________________________

CLASS: ______________________________

TOUGH QUESTIONS AMERICANS FACE TODAY

Below are some tough questions Americans face as we decide how our country should deal with the Soviets and the threat of nuclear war.

How do **you** answer these questions? If you answer "yes" or "no" to these questions, explain why. Keep in mind that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions.

1. Does the Soviet Union threaten our country and our values?

2. Can we and the Soviets end the nuclear arms race?

3. Can we trust the Soviets?

4. Does having nuclear weapons make our country safer?

5. Should America get involved in wars in faraway countries?

PART TWO: PROVIDING A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The sole lesson in Part Two, "U.S.-Soviet Relations since World War II," provides students with enough historical background for them to consider the four Futures they will encounter in Part Three. After a brief explanation and discussion of their up-coming look into the future, students review a concise history of U.S.-Soviet relations since World War II.

This brief history highlights a few notable events in U.S.-Soviet relations, which together convey the wide variety of experiences the U.S. has had with the Soviet Union and other communist countries. Both "high" and "low" points of superpower relations are included. This lesson takes one 45-minute class period. However, classes entirely unfamiliar with post-war history may wish to take longer.

Part Two also includes six supplemental activities designed to deepen the students' understanding of U.S. history and possibilities for the future before they encounter the four Futures.

Table of Contents

30 U.S.-Soviet Relations since World War II

33 *Supplemental activity #2:* Additional Historical Research
34 *Supplemental activity #3:* Examining, the Past, Present and Future
35 *Supplemental activity #4:* Oral History of the U.S.
36 *Supplemental activity #5:* The U.S. before the Cold War (honors)
37 *Supplemental activity #6:* The History of the American Future (honors)
38 *Supplemental activity #7:* Imagining the Future

U.S.-Soviet Relations since World War II

Objective:

How can the U.S. avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving American values? This is a difficult issue, leading to a fundamental question: *What kind of a future should the U.S. head toward?*

This lesson quickly introduces students to the interactive framework of the four alternative Futures, with which they will discuss and debate this fundamental question. Students learn of the Futures framework they will study, the questions they must answer, and the final choice they will have to make.

Before they start their inquiry, students need a basic, common historical background against which to consider the four Futures. In this lesson, students review a brief history of U.S.-Soviet relations since World War II.

This brief history has been written on the assumption that the students have little or no prior knowledge of post-war history. Rather than provide a comprehensive survey of U.S.-Soviet relations over the past 50 years (which is neither necessary nor the object of this curriculum), this brief history and its accompanying timeline highlight a few key events that evoke the fundamental assumptions of each Future. Without knowledge of these types of events, students might not appreciate the perspectives of all four Futures.

> *Future 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand* is largely based on the knowledge that the Soviets have been undemocratic and expansionist. Hence, the brief history and timeline highlight the building of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
>
> *Future 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise* is largely based on the knowledge that the threat of nuclear war has been a major danger and that the superpowers have taken steps to eliminate it. Hence, the Cuban Missile Crisis and the INF Treaty are highlighted.
>
> *Future 3: Cooperative Problem Solving* is largely based on the knowledge that the U.S. has been able to cooperate with communist countries. Hence, U.S.-Soviet cooperation in World War II and the improvement of our relations with China are highlighted.
>
> *Future 4: Defend Only North America* is largely based on the knowledge that the U.S. maintains military forces around the world. Hence, U.S. involvement in NATO and the Vietnam War are highlighted.

Teachers should note that each Future description in the student text contains a section entitled "What does history show?," which provides additional historical background particularly relevant to each Future.

Teachers should also note that Appendix F of this resource book contains for their reference (pages 147-158) a more detailed timeline of U.S.-Soviet relations, as well as facts about the Soviet Union, U.S. and Soviet military commitments, the arms race, and arms control agreements. In addition, Appendix D: "Notes on the Futures and U.S. History" summarizes the events on the student timeline in greater detail.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods.

U.S. history classes using this curriculum may especially want to cover this material over more than one period, supplementing the student text with relevant sections from the classroom U.S. history text. The bibliography on pages 159-168 suggests additional supplemental readings.

Materials:

"Four Futures: The Choice is Yours," student text, pp. 6-7
"America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History," student text, pp. 8-13
"The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1941-2010 (timeline)," student text, pp. 14-15
Map of the world, student text, p. 16
Map of U.S. troops and military aid around the world, student text, p. 17

Procedure:

1. Explain to the class that over the coming days they will be considering an important and difficult issue: How can America avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving its important values? To help them answer this question for themselves, they will take a look into the Future at the year 2010, and examine four possible goals the U.S. can work toward in the next twenty years.

2. To help students conceptualize twenty years in the future, ask them how old they will be in 2010. How old will their parents be?

3. Review "Four Futures: The Choice is Yours," student text, pages 6-7. Point out that:

   -- In each of the Futures, the U.S. has prevented nuclear war and remains a free, democratic country;

   -- In each of the Futures, we will have have done our part to protect the environment and deal with any other global problems that threaten all countries, including the U.S.;

   -- The Futures are not predictions of what will happen, they are examples of possible goals the U.S. could try to reach by 2010.

4. Review "America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History," student text, pages 8-13. As you review the text, make a special note of the twelve subjects that are also covered in the timeline on pages 14-15:

   -- 1941-1945: U.S. and Soviet Union join forces in World War II
   -- 1949: NATO military alliance forms
   -- 1961: The building of the Berlin Wall
   -- 1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis
   -- 1964-1973: U.S. troops fight in the Vietnam War
   -- 1972: U.S. and communist China work successfully to improve their relationship
   -- 1972: U.S. and Soviet leaders agree to a policy of "détente"
   -- 1979: Soviet troops invade Afghanistan
   -- 1983: President Reagan proposes the "Star Wars" (SDI) program
   -- 1985: Mikhail Gorbachev becomes leader of the Soviet Union
   -- 1987: Superpowers sign INF Treaty
   -- 1989: George Bush is inaugurated as the 41st U.S. President

To provide a context for the timeline, ask them questions like: "Who was president when you were born? Who led the Soviet Union?"

Note: We have made a great effort in the Brief History to present a balanced and succinct introduction to post-war history. However, any presentation of history will have its own individual biases. Teachers may wish to point out to the class that the Brief History has a particular point of view, and that students (or the teacher) may have a different view of the events. Supplemental activity #16, "The Four Futures and the 'Brief History,'" specifically addresses this.

5. If time permits, review the maps of the world and of U.S. troops and military aid around the world, student text, pages 16-17. Ask students to locate the countries listed in the timeline:

United States
Soviet Union
East Germany
Cuba
Vietnam
China
Afghanistan

Which of these are "Third World" countries?

Evaluation:

By the end of this lesson, students should have a basic but solid understanding of the events highlighted in the brief history and timeline of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Teachers wishing to test their students on this lesson's readings may consider using the quiz, "America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History," found on page 101 of Appendix B: "Evaluation Materials." Quiz answers are on page 113.

Teachers wishing to quiz their students on world geography may use the blank map of the world on page 95 of Appendix A: "Teaching Aids."

Homework for Part Three (pp. 41-58):

Part Three, "Introducing the Four Futures," has two lesson plan options and two corresponding homework assignments. Each option takes three to five 45-minute periods:

Option A, page 42, is the "traditional" lesson plan, introducing the four Futures one by one. Students should read one or two Futures (depending on the length of the lesson) the day before they are covered in class. The night before the last period in this lesson, they should read "Important Differences among the Futures," student text p. 59.

Option B, page 46, is a "student-to-student" introduction to the four Futures. At the end of the period, divide the class into four groups, assigning a Future to each group. Each group should read its Future carefully, since its members will be responsible for informing the rest of the class about their assigned Future. The night before the last period in this lesson, students should read the three Futures they haven't yet read, and also read "Important Differences among the Futures," student text, p. 59.

Supplemental activity #2: Additional Historical Research

Objective:

Students examine in greater detail the events and personalities covered in the Brief History and the timeline.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials:

"America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History," student text, pp. 8-13
"The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1941-2010 (timeline)," student text, pp. 14-15

Appendix G: "Bibliography," pp. 159-168
Blank timeline (optional), p. 97 of Appendix A: "Teaching Aids"

Procedure:

For a deeper understanding of the past 50 years of U.S.-Soviet relations, students can do some of the following:

1. Examine the events covered in the Brief History and the timeline in greater detail by taking advantage of the bibliographical sources cited on pp. 164-168 of Appendix G. U.S. history classes can examine how their textbook treats these events.
2. Examine the succession of U.S. and Soviet leaders from the 1940s to the 1980s. Which U.S. and Soviet leaders were in power during which events? Students can research the role these leaders played in shaping these historical events.
3. Examine other important events in U.S.-Soviet relations over the past 50 years. What other wars during that time did the U.S. fight in? How have the Soviets acted during this time? Students may use the blank timeline provided to chart additional events over this period (or a smaller period).

Supplemental activity #3: Examining the Past, Present and Future

Objective:

Students imagine themselves in the year 2010 and explore the differences of twenty years' time to better assess how America would be different in 2010.

Time: Two or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Ask students to spend a few minutes imagining the year 2010. Then ask:

   -- How old will you be in 2010?
   -- Will you be married?
   -- Will you have children?
   -- What do you think you'll be doing?
   -- What kind of music do you think people will be listening to?
   -- How will people dress?
   -- Will you vote?
   -- Where will you live?

2. Ask them what they think will have changed over twenty years' time. Ask them to consider what America was like twenty years ago:

   -- How old were your parents?
   -- How old were your siblings?
   -- What kind of music did people listen to?
   -- How did people dress?
   -- What else has changed since then?
   -- What hasn't changed?

3. As a possible research assignment, ask students to bring in "artifacts" from twenty years ago. Some suggestions include old *National Geographic* or *Time* magazines, advertisements, old clothing, records, and other Americana. Instruct them to ask their parents, siblings or others about life twenty years ago:

   -- What were they doing?
   -- What was life like back then?
   -- What has changed since then?
   -- What hasn't changed?

4. Discuss their findings at the next class.

Supplemental activity #4: Oral History of the U.S.

Objective:

Students interview someone who was an adult at the time of an event or period listed on the student timeline. They ask for his/her assessments of the event then and now.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: "The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1941-2010 (timeline)," student text, pp. 14-15

Procedure:

1. Students select an older friend or relative who was an adult at the time of an important event or period listed on the student timeline. We especially recommend "powerful" events such as the building of the Berlin Wall, the Cuban Missile Crisis, or the Vietnam War. Students should ask:

   -- How old were you then (roughly)?
   -- What were you doing then?
   -- What was your reaction to this event at the time?
   -- How did it make you feel?
   -- What do you think of the event now?
   -- Do you think this event changed how the U.S. acted in the world?
   -- Do you think the event changed how you felt about anything?

2. Additionally, students can pick four people they know, including some people in their old age (such as their grandparents), and calculate roughly how old each of them was at the time of the twelve events covered in the timeline.

Supplemental activity #5: The U.S. before the Cold War (honors)

Objective:

Students research and discuss one or more threats facing the U.S. before the Cold War.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Students research the history of conflict the U.S. has had with one or more of these countries or groups: the Native Americans, Great Britain, Mexico, Spain, Germany, Japan. Students can discuss:

   -- Did these countries or groups truly threaten the security of the United States?
   -- Did they threaten American values?
   -- Did the U.S. see these countries or groups as a different kind of threat than the Soviet Union? What are the similarities?

2. Examine U.S. enmity toward "communism" before World War II. Why did many Americans perceive communism as a threat? Were they right to perceive it as a threat? How might communism have threatened the U.S.? Is it a threat to the U.S. today? Is it a threat to other countries?

3. Consider the question posed in the student questionnaire in Part One, page 27: "Can we trust the Soviets?" but replace "Soviets" with one of the earlier groups the U.S. has seen as a threat. Did the U.S. trust these countries or groups at the time of the conflict? Should it have? It is possible to be at peace with a country while distrusting it?

4. Consider another question from the student questionnaire: "Should America get involved in wars in faraway countries?" How do you think most Americans would have answered this question in 1800? In 1900? In 1939? In 1946?

5. "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking" -- Albert Einstein. What do you think Einstein meant? How are nuclear weapons a different kind of threat from earlier threats facing nations? How are they not different?

Supplemental activity #6: The History of the American Future (honors)

Objective:

Throughout U.S. history various groups of Americans -- from the Pilgrims to the abolitionists, from the suffragists to the civil rights movement -- have had visions of what the ideal future for America should look like. This activity asks students to examine the components of these earlier visions of the future, compare these visions with American society today, and consider the lessons we should learn from these earlier movements as we shape our own future.

Time: One or more 45-minute periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into 2-4 groups. Assign each group one of the following groups' or individual's ideas to review and discuss:

    The Puritans
    The abolitionist movement
    Supporters of America's "manifest destiny"
    The Confederacy
    The populists at the turn of the century
    The women's suffrage movement
    Woodrow Wilson's 14 points
    The civil rights movement
    The "counterculture" of the late 1960s

2. For their assigned topic, each group should answer the following questions:

    -- What goals did the movement work toward?
    -- Describe the future these people hoped to create.
    -- How did they attempt to achieve these goals?
    -- What risks or obstacles did they face?
    -- How were obstacles confronted?
    -- To what extent were the goals achieved?
    -- What are the main reasons for this movement's success or failure?

3. When students complete their presentations ask them to think of their own ideal image of America's future. What are the similarities or differences between this image and with the America of today? To achieve your goals for the future, what "lessons" can you learn from the successes or failures of these earlier movements in American history? How should these "lessons" affect your plans for the future?

Supplemental activity #7: Imagining the Future

Objective:

Groups of students imagine in detail a positive future for the United States in 2010, and present this future to the class. These presentations will prompt a broader discussion about the future.

Time: Two or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: Blank timeline (optional), p. 97 of Appendix A: "Teaching Aids"

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into groups of 4-5 students.

2. Ask the class to imagine that their group has just stepped out of a "time machine" that has taken them to the year 2010. America has successfully avoided nuclear war while preserving its values. (Teachers may choose to have students go to the school or local library to look in the history books to understand changes that have occurred over the past 20 years.)

3. Ask the groups to construct a timeline and/or poster that shows what happened from 1990 to 2010. The timeline should address a variety of questions including:

   -- How is life in America is different?
   -- How is our economy different?
   -- How are the American people and their customs are different?

   In addition, timelines must include students' ideas about the future of America's role in the world, U.S.-Soviet relations, and nuclear arms. Timelines should reflect students answers to the following questions about the year 2010:

   -- What is America's role in the world?
   -- In what ways are we involved (if at all) with other nations?
   -- What are the biggest threats to America?
   -- What has happened in our relations with the Soviets since 1990?
   -- What agreements (if any) were signed?
   -- What is the role of nuclear weapons in the year 2010 (if any)?
   -- What events have determined the role of nuclear weapons? How and when did these events occur?

   One effective way of constructing the timeline is to first decide what happened in the year 2000, then decide what happened in the years 1995 and 2005, and then fill in the remaining years. The more class time available, the more thoroughly students can elaborate the timeline.

   Encourage students to create illustrations for their timelines. These will enhance the quality of their presentations and also prompt reaction and discussion from classmates. Completed timelines and illustrations will make an interesting bulletin board display for the classroom.

4. Each group presents their timeline to the class, describing the events covered and explaining illustrations. After a group describes its future, classmates can ask questions and share reactions. Ask the class whether they think the timeline is realistic. Why or why not? What assumptions about the U.S. and the Soviet Union did the group make?

5. After all groups have presented their timelines, ask :

   -- What are some similarities and differences between the futures that each group has presented?

   -- Are these images of the future that you actually support? Why or why not?

   -- Are there differences between what you *want* to happen and what you *think* will happen between the U.S. and the Soviet Union by 2010? What are these differences? Why do these differences exist?

PART THREE: INTRODUCING THE FOUR FUTURES

Part Three offers two possible lesson plan options for covering the alternative Futures. Both expose students to the four Futures, their pros and cons, feasibility, economic consequences, and near-term policy implications, and take three to five 45-minute class periods:

> **Option A: "Traditional" Introduction to the Futures** covers the materials in the "traditional" pedagogical fashion. In this lesson, the teacher leads students through a discussion of the Futures and their possible pros and cons. Students also discuss some of the important questions each Future raises for U.S. policy.
>
> **Option B: "Student-to-Student" Introduction to the Futures** challenges students to teach one another about the Futures, their possible pros and cons, and questions for U.S. policy. The teacher plays the supportive role of "knowledgeable moderator" in this lesson.

To aid the teacher in classroom discussion, and for easy reference, Part Three provides supplemental notes on the Futures with a sampling of possible pros and cons for each.

Part Three also includes five supplemental activities that allow students to examine the four Futures more closely.

Table of Contents

42 Option A: "Traditional" Introduction to the Futures

46 Option B: "Student-to-Student" Introduction to the Futures

50 Supplemental Notes on the Futures for Classroom Discussion

54 *Supplemental activity #8:* The Four Futures in American History
55 *Supplemental activity #9:* The Four Futures in American History (honors)
56 *Supplemental activity #10:* The Futures in 2030
57 *Supplemental activity #11:* The Four Futures and Trust
58 *Supplemental activity #12:* Make Your Own "Four Futures Campaign"

Option A: "Traditional" Introduction to the Futures

Objective:

This lesson exposes students to the four Futures they must consider in deciding what kind of future the U.S. should head toward.

Option A covers the reading material on the Futures in the "traditional" pedagogical fashion. After the class views a 22-minute video tape on the Futures, the teacher guides the students through a discussion of the Futures, their pros and cons, and near-term policy implications. Students also discuss some of the important questions each Future raises for U.S. policy. If time permits, students may also discuss the finer points of the Futures, including their feasibility, their economic consequences, their fundamental assumptions, and possible impact on the rest of the world.

Each section on the four Futures in the student text consists of eight parts:

-- a description of the Future, written as if 2010 were the present
-- "What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?"
-- "How much would this Future cost us?"
-- "Future 1/2/3/4 is based on these beliefs"
-- "What does history show?" supports the Future with historical examples
-- "Can this Future work?" lists some possible pro and con feasibility arguments
-- "What about the rest of the world?" lists some possible favorable and unfavorable worldwide reactions to the Future
-- "Future 1/2/3/4 in perspective," a small concluding section

> Each reading also contains a number of sidebars and captions detailing events and issues important to advocates of each Future. Furthermore, each reading contains a response to how global problems (such as pollution) would be handled in the Future.

Teachers should be aware that students *need not* examine the Futures in fine detail to consider them thoughtfully. The sections following "What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?," as well as the sidebars and captions throughout, are elaborations. As long as students have a basic grasp of each Future and its near-term policy implications, they can thoughtfully discuss its possible pros and cons and make a responsible decision in Part Five: "Four Futures Balloting."

The lesson concludes with a discussion of the major differences between the Futures.

Time:

Three to five 45-minute class periods, depending upon the depth in which the teacher would like to cover the material, and the ability of the students to grasp the basics of each Future.

Materials:

22-minute VHS video tape, "America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: Looking to the Future"
Supplemental Notes on the Futures for Class Discussion, pp. 50-53
"The Four Futures," student text, p. 18
"Future 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand," student text, pp. 19-28
"Future 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise," student text, pp. 29-38
"Future 3: Cooperative Problem Solving," student text, pp. 39-48
"Future 4: Defend Only North America," student text, pp. 49-58
"Important Differences among the Futures," student text, p. 59

Suggested Procedure:

Period One:

1. Read "The Four Futures," student text p. 18. Remind students that over the coming days they will be considering an important and difficult issue: How can America avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving its important values? To help them answer this question, students will take a look into the future in the year 2010, and examine four possible goals the U.S. can work toward in the next twenty years.

2. Run the 22-minute VHS video tape explaining the Futures.

3. For the rest of the period, ask if the students have any questions about what they will be doing. Remind them that they should start thinking about which of the four Futures they think can best avoid nuclear war with the Soviets *and* preserve important American values. Warn them that they should not make up their minds about any of the Futures until they have discussed them all.

Subsequent periods:

1. Review each Future. With each Future, ask the students to consider its possible pros and cons:

   -- What is good about it?
   -- What is bad about it?
   -- Would following this Future prevent nuclear war?
   -- Would it keep America strong and help preserve our values?
   -- Does it address your feelings about the Soviets?
   -- Even if it sounds good, can it work?

   Students should discuss a number of possible pros and cons. The supplemental notes on the Futures found on pages 50-53 list a number of sample pros and cons for each Future.

2. *On discussing Future 1:*

Students should understand that Future 1 is not a "pro-war" Future. Its supporters do not like war and would never advocate using nuclear weapons in any war (remember, each Future seeks to avoid nuclear war while preserving American values). Instead, Future 1 supporters believe that, given the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union, and given its present weakened state, this Future is the most *realistic* strategy for preventing nuclear war while preserving American values.

If time permits, conduct a discussion on this question: Do the Soviets threaten the United States?

3. *On discussing Future 2:*

Students should understand that while Future 2 will eliminate the nuclear threat, it will *not* change the competitive nature of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. It is too soon to call off the Cold War, Future 2 supporters say. Students should also understand what "hot spots" are and where they are in the world.

If time permits, conduct a discussion on this question: Should arms control be our number one priority in our relations with the Soviets?

4. *On discussing Future 3:*

Students should understand that supporters of the other Futures are just as concerned as Future 3 supporters about global problems, such as the "greenhouse effect" and AIDS. Future 3 supporters stress environmental cooperation so heavily because they believe that *only* cooperation can build the mutual trust they consider necessary for avoiding nuclear war.

Students should also understand that since Future 3 involves sharing technology with the Soviets, the U.S. would probably lose its high tech edge over the Soviet Union in this Future.

If time permits, conduct a discussion on this issue: The Soviet say today that in order to move their reforms along, they need greater cooperation from the West. Should the U.S. cooperate more closely with the Soviets, even if it will make them stronger and make us lose our edge over them in high technology?

5. *On discussing Future 4:*

Students should understand that withdrawing our troops from the rest of the world in Future 4 does not mean that the U.S. would withdraw economically or culturally. Although Americans would focus heavily on domestic concerns in this Future, they could still actively travel, trade and exchange ideas with the rest of the world just as before. The U.S. would simply no longer be obliged to take military action in situations where North America is not directly threatened.

Note: Teachers should be aware that students very often speak inconsistently about the Soviets when discussing Future 4. Often, the same students who minimize the Soviet threat in discussing Future 3, oppose Future 4 because they believe the Soviets are a threat.

If time permits, conduct a discussion on this issue: If the U.S. should keep its troops around the world, does that mean the the Soviet Union is a threat and cannot be trusted? If so, is Future 3 a dangerous option? Why or why not?

6. Teachers wishing to cover the Futures in greater detail can raise these additional discussion questions:

   -- What are the economic costs of each Future?
   -- What do supporters of each Future believe about the Soviets?
   -- How might U.S. allies react to each Future?
   -- How might the Soviet Union react?
   -- How might other countries react?
   -- How does this Future compare to the other(s) you have discussed?

   U.S. History classes may especially want to examine the section in each reading, "What does history show?" and discuss how each of the Futures can take examples from post-war history to support its perspective.

Final Period:

1. During the final period of the lesson, briefly review "Important Differences among the Futures," student text p. 59. Students should understand that the Futures differ strongly on the issue of trusting the Soviets and the amount of common ground that the U.S. shares with the Soviet Union. What do the Futures have in common?

2. Divide the class into four groups. Assign each group a Future. Explain that next class (or later, if the class will be working on a supplemental activity the next day), each group will deliver a five-minute presentation explaining their Future and advocating why the U.S. should work toward it. Members of each group should play the role of strong supporters of their Future. Every member of the group should participate in the presentation.

   If possible, individual students should be assigned to advocate a Future that they most likely do not support (e.g., "dovish" students to represent Future 1, "hawkish" students to represent Future 4, etc.).

Evaluation:

By the end of this lesson, students should have a basic but solid understanding of the Futures and their policy implications for the 90s. They should also be able to state at least two important reasons for and against the U.S. heading toward each Future.

Teachers wishing to test their students on this lesson's readings may consider using the four quizzes on each of the Futures, found on pp. 103-110 of Appendix B: "Evaluation Materials." Quiz answers are on pp. 114-115.

Appendix B also includes a test covering all four Futures, located on pp. 111-112. Test answers are on pp. 116.

Homework for Part Four (pp. 59-70):

Students should reread their assigned Future in preparation for the presentation they will make in Part Four's lesson, "Advocating a Future." They should also look at the matrices on pages 60-63 of the student text, paying particular attention to the perspective of their assigned Future.

Option B: "Student-to-Student" Introduction to the Futures

Objective:

This lesson exposes students to the four Futures they must consider in deciding what kind of future the U.S. should head toward.

Option B challenges students to teach each other about the Futures. Students, divided into four groups, work together to prepare a five to ten minute presentation on their assigned Future, its near-term policy implications, and some possible pros and cons.

Following their presentation, each group answers questions about their Future posed by the teacher and other students. If time permits, groups may also present the finer points of their Future, including its feasibility, economic consequences, fundamental assumptions and possible impact on the rest of the world.

Throughout this lesson, the teacher plays the supportive role of "knowledgeable moderator," making sure that the groups are not gravely misinterpreting the Futures, or misleading the rest of the class. The burden of the learning and teaching in this lesson, however, rests upon the students.

Each section on the four Futures in the student text consists of eight parts:

- a description of the Future, written as if 2010 were the present
- "What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?"
- "How much would this Future cost us?"
- "Future 1/2/3/4 is based on these beliefs"
- "What does history show?" supports the Future through historical example
- "Can this Future work?" lists some possible pro and con feasibility arguments
- "What about the rest of the world?" lists some possible favorable and unfavorable worldwide reactions to the Future
- "Future 1/2/3/4 in perspective," a small concluding section

Each reading also contains a number of sidebars and captions detailing events and issues important to advocates of each Future. Furthermore, each reading contains a response to how global problems (such as pollution) would be handled in the Future.

Teachers should be aware that students *need not* study the Futures in fine detail to understand them and summarize them competently to the class. The sections following "What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?," as well as the sidebars and captions throughout, are elaborations. As long as students have a basic grasp of each Future and its near-term policy implications, they can competently develop and present good pros and cons and make a responsible decision in Part Five: "Four Futures Balloting."

During the final class period, students review what they have learned by viewing a 22-minute VHS video tape describing the four Futures. The lesson concludes with a brief discussion of the major differences between the Futures.

Time:

Three to five 45-minute class periods, depending upon how long the teacher would like the students to present the material and answer questions, and the ability of the students to grasp the basics of each Future.

Materials:

Supplemental Notes on the Futures for Classroom Discussion, pp. 50-53
"The Four Futures," student text, p. 18
"Future 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand," student text, pp. 19-28
"Future 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise," student text, pp. 29-38
"Future 3: Cooperative Problem Solving," student text, pp. 39-48
"Future 4: Defend Only North America," student text, pp. 49-58
"Important Differences among the Futures," student text, p. 59
22-minute VHS video tape, "America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: Looking to the Future"

Suggested Procedure:

Period One:

1. Remind the students that over the coming days they will be considering an important and difficult issue: How can America avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving its important values? To help them answer this question for themselves, students will take a look into the future in the year 2010, and examine four possible goals the U.S. can work toward in the next twenty years.

2. Divide the students into four groups, assigning each group a Future. (Ideally, the teacher should form these groups at the end of the previous class, and assign each group to read their Future as homework.) Explain that each group will study their Future and then report about it to the class. The length of this presentation can be five to ten minutes, depending upon the desired length of this lesson.

3. Explain to students that each group must describe their Future, its near-term policy implications, and some possible pros and cons. Each student in the group must prepare to deliver a portion of the presentation. The groups should expect to answer questions from the teacher and the students. Students will be graded on their class participation and the clarity of their presentation and answers to audience questions.

   Students should focus on the first two sections (Future description and "What would we have to do in the 90s to head towards this Future?"), but should be familiar with the rest of the reading.

Student preparation:

1. As the students prepare, the teacher should periodically check on their progress, answer any questions they may have about their assigned Future, and clear up misunderstandings.

2. Teachers should make sure that the groups avoid some common misunderstandings concerning each Future:

   Future 1: Students should understand that Future 1 is not a "pro-war" Future. Its supporters do not like war and would never advocate using nuclear weapons in any war (Remember, each Future seeks to avoid nuclear war while preserving American values). Instead, Future 1 supporters believe that, given the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union and its present weakened state, this Future is the most *realistic* strategy for preventing nuclear war while preserving American values.

Future 2: Students should understand that while Future 2 will eliminate the nuclear threat, it will *not* change the competitive nature of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. It is too soon to call off the Cold War, Future 2 supporters say.

Future 3: Students should understand that supporters of the other Futures are just as concerned as Future 3 supporters about global problems, such as the "greenhouse effect" and AIDS. Future 3 supporters stress environmental cooperation so heavily because they believe that *only* cooperation can build the mutual trust they consider necessary for avoiding nuclear war. Students should also understand that since Future 3 involves sharing technology with the Soviets, the U.S. would probably lose its high tech edge over the Soviet Union in this Future.

Future 4: Students should understand that withdrawing our troops from the rest of the world in Future 4 does not mean that the U.S. would withdraw economically or culturally. Although Americans would focus heavily on domestic concerns in this Future, they could still actively travel, trade, and exchange ideas with the rest of the world just as much as before. The U.S. would simply no longer be obliged to take military action in situations where North America is not directly threatened.

Student presentations

1. Before the students begin their presentations, remind the class that:

   -- in each of the Futures, the U.S. has prevented nuclear war and remains a free, democratic country;
   -- in each of the Futures, the U.S. has done its part to protect the environment and deal with any global problems that threaten all countries, including the U.S.;
   -- the Futures are not predictions of what will happen, they are examples of possible goals the U.S. could try to reach by 2010;
   -- large numbers of Americans support each Future.

2. Remind the class that, as they listen to these presentations, they should consider which of the four Futures they think can best avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving American values.

3. In each presentation, students should describe the Future, explain what the U.S. would have to do in the 90s to get there, and suggest possible pros and cons. If time permits, students may go into greater detail, examining economic costs and possible positive and negative reactions to the Future by the Soviets, U.S. allies, and the Third World.

4. Following each presentation, strongly encourage other students to ask questions. Explain that part of their grade is based on their participation as questioners. If the students' presentation is incomplete or misleading, the teacher should address their errors.

5. After each presentation, ask the class if they can think of any additional pros and cons that were not covered. If the students need prompting, the "Supplemental Notes for Classroom Discussion" on pp. 50-53 contain a variety of possible pros and cons for each Future.

6. Following the last presentation, which should fall at the end of the next-to-last period in this lesson, students should read:

   "Four Futures," student text, p. 18
   the three Futures they did not present
   "Important Differences among the Futures," student text, p. 59.

Final period

1. Run the 22-minute VHS video tape explaining the Futures.

2. Ask if the students have any questions about what they saw. The teacher should encourage other students to answer any questions.

3. Briefly review "Important Differences among the Futures," student text p. 59. Students should understand that the Futures differ strongly on the issue of trusting the Soviets and the amount of common ground the U.S. shares with the Soviet Union. What do the Futures have in common?

4. Redivide the class into four different groups. Assign each group a Future. Make sure no student is assigned the same Future that he or she has just presented to the class. Explain that next class (or later, if the class will be working on a supplemental activity the next day), each group will deliver a five-minute presentation briefly explaining their Future and advocating why the U.S. should work toward it. Members of each group should play the role of strong supporters of their Future. Every member of the group should participate in the presentation.

   If possible, individual students should be assigned to advocate a Future that they most likely do not support (e.g. "dovish" students to represent Future 1, "hawkish" students to represent Future 4, etc.).

Evaluation:

By the end of this lesson, students should have a basic but solid understanding of the Futures and their policy implications for the 90s. They should also be able to state at least two important reasons for and against the U.S. heading toward each Future.

Students can be evaluated on the basis of their participation in their group's presentation, and their participation in questioning the other groups.

Teachers wishing to test their students on this lesson's readings may consider using the four quizzes on each of the Futures, found on pp. 103-110 of Appendix B: "Evaluation Materials." Quiz answers are on pp. 114-115.

Appendix B also includes a test covering all four Futures, located on pp. 111-112. Test answers are on p. 116.

Homework for Part Four (pp. 59-70):

Students should read their newly assigned Future in preparation for the presentation they will make in Part Four's lesson, "Advocating a Future." They should also look at the matrices on pp. 60-63 of the student text, paying particular attention to the perspective of their assigned Future.

Supplemental Notes on the Futures for Class Discussion

Future 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand

Description: By 2010, the U.S. will have achieved military and political superiority over the Soviet Union. We will have realized that the Soviets, no matter what they pretend, hope someday to take over the world. So we will have developed advanced nuclear and other weapons, possibly including a "Star Wars" defense against missiles. And we will be vigorously opposing Soviet influence in the Third World.

Sample Pros

- It's the only realistic Future, given the aggressive nature of the Soviets.
- The best way to prevent a war is to prevent the Soviets from making trouble.
- By containing Soviet expansionism, others are able to enjoy the freedoms we do -- and thus everybody wins.
- We have a moral obligation to defend freedom around the world.
- It will make the U.S. more powerful.
- Because the Soviet economy is in bad shape, now is the time to press them.

Sample Cons

- This will raise tensions internationally, putting world war on a hair trigger.
- This is a prescription for a never-ending arms race.
- This will push the Soviets into a corner and make them desperate.
- This is too expensive; it would mean enormous defense spending for years. It would drain our resources and harm our economic competitiveness.
- Trying to stop communism will lead to more "Vietnams."
- The rest of the world, including our allies in Europe and the Third World, won't like it.

Why Future 1 can work:

- We are wealthier and have an edge in high technology.
- The Soviets will never be able to catch up to us.
- Grenada proves that we can stop communist expansion.

Why Future 1 cannot work:

- The Soviets will keep up with us, no matter how much we spend. Their authoritarian control allows them to impose sacrifices for the sake of security.
- They only need to have roughly the same numbers of nuclear weapons as us to still be considered a superpower; this they can do at little cost.

Policy Implications for the 90s

- Build up nuclear and conventional weapons to a level superior to that of the Soviets.

- Strongly aid freedom fighters combating communism in the Third World (examples: Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan, Grenada). Actively promote democracy and independence in Western Europe.

- Aggressively explore the potential for a defense system against nuclear attack (such as the SDI "Star Wars" plan) and, if it is worth the cost, begin to deploy it.

- Avoid arms control agreements that weaken our military strength.

Future 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

Description: By 2010, we and the Soviets will have taken far-reaching steps to make sure that a global nuclear holocaust is impossible. Nearly all nuclear weapons will be scrapped, with strict safeguards against cheating. And the two sides will have taken steps to prevent any crisis (for instance, in Europe or the Middle East) from escalating into a global war. But despite the agreement on nuclear arms, both sides continue to compete for world influence, and both seek to gain supporters in the Third World. This may involve arming anti-communist rebels.

Sample Pros

- It's the only realistic Future, given the nuclear threat.
- If nuclear weapons are ever used, at least the whole world won't be destroyed.
- With the "nukes off the playing field," the U.S. can use its wealth and technology to pull ahead of the Soviet Union.
- Now that the Soviets will allow personal inspection as part of treaty verification, we don't need to trust them.

Sample Cons

- We will never be absolutely sure the Soviets won't get away with cheating.
- The fear of nuclear weapons has kept the peace since World War II.
- A denuclearized world will give the Soviets an advantage, because they have more non-nuclear weapons.
- Arms control won't ease tensions as long as the two sides continue to be archrivals.
- Other nations could become substantial nuclear powers with relatively few nuclear weapons.
- The Soviets might not want to work with us to eliminate the nuclear threat.
- Reaching agreements with Moscow to reduce danger in the Middle East and other places might mean giving up things Israel and our other friends want.

Why Future 2 can work:

- Both sides have a chief interest in preventing a nuclear war -- and they realize this.

Why Future 2 cannot work:

- The arm race cannot be separated from the rest of the superpower competition.
- The failure of détente in the 1970s shows that this approach doesn't work.

Policy Implications for the 90s

- Negotiate drastic cuts in nuclear weapons, working in stages toward removing them almost entirely. Agreements must include strict verification, such as on-site inspection.

- Negotiate cuts in conventional forces, if possible. If not, a build-up may be necessary to match Soviet forces. Any agreements must include strict verification.

- Negotiate agreements to prevent escalation of regional crises in "hot spots" into a global war.

- Support anti-communist freedom fighters in the Third World only where there is no risk of a crisis with the Soviets (examples: Afghanistan, Grenada). Encourage democracy in Eastern Europe.

Future 3: Cooperative Problem Solving

Description: By 2010, the U.S. and the Soviet Union will have changed their whole relationship, much as the U.S. and China did in the 1970s. The two sides are now cooperating closely on problems that face them both, such as terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, and dangers to the environment. Close cooperation on these issues has built up trust, which allows the two sides to work now on the tougher problem of nuclear weapons. We will openly share our high technology. The two sides have not cooperated solely on U.S. terms; both sides have made compromises.

Sample Pros

- It's the only Future that addresses the root causes of the hostility: fear, mistrust, and misunderstanding.
- Unless we change our basic relationship with the USSR, we'll never end the arms race.
- We and the Soviets will have to cooperate anyway to solve pressing problems such as global pollution, so let's take advantage of the situation to build trust.
- The Soviets seem willing to go down this path.

Sample Cons

- The Soviets might play along for a while and then turn on us.
- Cooperating means that we will lose our technological edge over the Soviets.
- This would mean ending the fight against communist expansion and accepting a dictatorship as our partner.
- This would mean sharing or not building SDI, and never gaining clear military superiority.
- We can solve our problems without having to cooperate intensely with the Soviets.
- The Soviets might not want to cooperate with us.

Why Future 3 can work:

- The fundamental problem is mistrust, which this Future addresses.
- If the U.S.-Chinese relationship could change, the U.S.-Soviet relationship can.

Why Future 3 cannot work:

- The conflict between the superpowers is too profound to be solved by cooperating on common problems.
- Cooperation on issues such as non-proliferation and nuclear power plant safety has yet to build much trust.

Policy Implications for the 90s

- Begin working with the Soviets closely on common problems: AIDS, terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, pollution and other environmental dangers. Share our high technology.

- As greater trust develops, use that trust to address the tougher problem of nuclear weapons.

- Both sides agree to gradually decrease their Third World competition.

- Explore joint ventures with the Soviet Union, and treat communist Third World nations pragmatically, not ideologically (example: open trade with Cuba).

Future 4: Defend Only North America

Description: By 2010, we will have recognized that the main challenge we face is not the Soviets but problems here at home. We will have phased out our alliances in Europe and Asia, and brought our troops home. Now the U.S. maintains a strong defense of North America, possibly including a "Star Wars" defense against missiles. Otherwise we are concentrating on our own affairs. What the Soviets do or don't do is not a major concern.

Sample Pros

- Our allies are capable of defending themselves.
- We spend billions to defend Japan and Europe while they are winning the economic competition and taking away American jobs.
- We can't afford to defend so many nations.
- We should stop getting dragged into crises in faraway places.
- Ending our alliances and bringing our troops home would allow us to focus on important domestic problems.
- The real threats to America are the problems we face at home.

Why Future 4 can work:

- This Future doesn't count on the Soviet Union getting weaker, or behaving in any certain way (unlike the other three Futures).

Sample Cons

- We have an obligation to defend freedom around the world.
- If we abandon our allies, they will probably make concessions to Moscow -- including granting access to Western technology.
- Some nations may be obliged to produce nuclear weapons to defend themselves, making regional nuclear wars more likely.
- Our ability to trade with other countries may be put in jeopardy.
- Our withdrawal from the world could cause certain unstable regions to plunge into chaos and war.

Why Future 4 cannot work:

- Withdrawing from the rest of the world would make the Soviets stronger over much of the earth, which would make the U.S. less secure in the long run.

Policy Implications for the 90s

- Tell the West Europeans, Japanese and other allies that we will phase out alliances on a set schedule.

- Begin to bring our troops home from abroad. All of them will be home in, say, ten years.

- Redirect our nation's attention to the problems we face at home.

- Explore the potential for a defense system against incoming missiles (such as the SDI "Star Wars" plan) and, if it is worth the cost, begin to deploy it.

Supplemental activity #8: The Four Futures in American History

Objective:

Students look into American history for examples to support or refute a given Future.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: the four Futures, student text, pp. 19-58

Procedure:

Students select a Future and consider, for discussion or research:

1. Have there been instances in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations when we have adopted this type of a policy? What were the results?
2. What examples of American history might you show to argue in favor of this Future? What historical examples would an opponent use to argue against this Future?
3. How could a critic of this Future refute the supportive historical evidence offered in the "What does history show?" section of the Future reading?

Supplemental activity #9: The Four Futures in American History (honors)

Objective:

Students analyze specific events in American history in relation to a particular Future.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

Students consider, for discussion or research:

1. Many Future 1 supporters would compare the Soviet takeover of Europe after World War II with the expansionism of fascist regimes such as Germany and Italy in the 1930s. How close is this comparison?

2. Compare Future 2 to the détente period in the 1970s. How are the détente policies and Future 2 policies similar? How are they different? Does the failure of détente mean that Future 2 would fail?

3. Twice in its history, the U.S. was at war with Great Britain. Today the two countries are allies. How did this change happen? Does this support the perspective of Future 3? Does the recent souring of U.S.-Chinese relations invalidate Future 3?

4. Compare Future 4 with the isolationist stance of the U.S. prior to World Wars I and II. How are Future 4 and the Monroe Doctrine similar? How are they different?

Supplemental activity #10: The Futures in 2030

Objective:

Students create and discuss positive and negative projections for life in the U.S. in 2030, twenty years after each of the Futures.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into four groups, assigning each group a Future. For the first half of the period, ask them to consider what life might be like in 2030, twenty years after this Future has been reached. Each group should develop a positive and negative scenario for 2030.

   Example: In Future 3 by 2030, the last nuclear weapon will have been destroyed.

   OR

   In Future 3 by 2030, the Soviets will have finally turned on us and the U.S. will be much less powerful than the Soviet Union.

2 Alternatively, students can imagine that America tried their Future but it failed, and so in 2010 chose another Future to follow. Each group should develop a positive and negative scenario for life in the U.S. in 2030.

   Example: By 2010, Future 3 has failed, and the two sides still distrust each other. The U.S. chooses Future 1 and by 2030 it has gained the upper hand.

   OR

   By 2030, since the Soviets became stronger in Future 3, we have not been able to gain the upper hand.

3. During the second half of the period, each group describes its two scenarios to the rest of the class.

Supplemental activity #11: The Four Futures and Trust

Objective: Students examine the "trust" factor in the Futures and in international relations.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials: "Important Differences among the Futures," student text, p. 59

Procedure:

After reviewing "Important Differences among the Futures," student text p. 59, students may debate and discuss some of the following issues:

1. Discuss how the Futures differ on the role of how much (if at all) the U.S. can trust the Soviet Union. Why do supporters of Future 1 trust the Soviet Union so little? Why do other Futures supporters trust the Soviets more?
2. How much can we trust the Soviet Union, Japan, Great Britain, Cuba, our own government? Why do we trust some countries more than others?
3. What do students think are the preconditions for trusting the Soviet Union to the point that arms control agreements are possible? to the point that having zero nuclear weapons on earth is possible?
4. What is trust? Why do we trust certain people, and not others? Are Gorbachev and the Soviet government equally (un)trustworthy?

Supplemental activity #12: Make Your Own "Four Futures Campaign"

Objective: Students "campaign" for their favorite or assigned Future.

Time: Flexible

Materials: Flexible

Procedure:

Add some "Election Day spirit" before the student balloting:

1. After the students have read through all the Futures, encourage them to write political endorsements or opinion pieces supporting their favorite Future.
2. If there appear to be few vocal supporters for a given Future, assign students to act as campaigners for that Future.
3. Students can also construct political posters, or come up with slogans. Other students can draw cartoons satirizing supporters of different Futures or championing others. If appropriate, encourage the students to publicize the upcoming balloting in their school newspaper.

PART FOUR: "PLAYING" WITH THE FUTURES

Now that the students understand the basics of the four Futures, they can "play" with them, and in doing so better understand and appreciate the perspective of each. The sole lesson in Part Four, "Advocating a Future," lets students play the part of supporters of a given Future. This lesson takes one 45-minute class period.

Part Four contains two notable supplemental activities that encourage students to examine the different perspectives of the Futures. The first activity, "The Futures and Current Issues," allows students to play the part of supporters of the different Futures responding to issues such as arms control and whether to send military aid to Third World countries. The second activity, "The Futures and U.S. History," allows students to play the part of supporters of the different Futures responding to events covered on the timeline in the student text. Both activities are accompanied by an informative matrix, with additional information located in Appendix C: "Notes on the Futures and Current Issues" (pp. 117-130) and in Appendix D: Notes on the Futures and U.S. History (pp. 131-140).

In addition, the four other supplemental activities in Part Four allow students to have fun comparing and contrasting the Futures. "Crisis" is particularly worthwhile as it challenges students to apply their understanding to the Futures in a foreign policy "emergency".

Table of Contents

60 Advocating a Future

62 *Supplemental activity #13:* The Futures and Current Issues
64 *Supplemental activity #14:* The Futures and U.S. History
66 *Supplemental activity #15:* Crisis!
67 *Supplemental activity #16:* The Four Futures and the "Brief History"
68 *Supplemental activity #17:* Interpreting the Daily News
69 *Supplemental activity #18:* Satire

Advocating a Future

Objective:

This lesson allows students to experience first-hand the perspectives offered by the four Futures. Students, in groups, must realistically play the part of forceful advocates of a given Future, one that is probably not their favorite. In doing so, students gain a deeper appreciation of a given Future's perspective.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials:

Four Futures readings, student text pp. 19-58
Matrix: "The Four Futures and Current Issues," student text, pp. 60-61
Matrix: "The Four Futures and U.S. History," student text, pp. 62-63

Procedure:

At the conclusion of Part Three, the class had been divided into four groups, each group having been assigned a Future to advocate in a five-minute presentation. When possible, students were selected to advocate a Future that they probably do not personally support.

1. For the first half of the class, students in groups must design their presentation. Each student in the group should be responsible for part of the presentation. Remind students that they must present their Futures as if they were all strong advocates. The teacher may suggest some of these ways to divide up this task:

   -- one student briefly describes the Future
   -- one student describes what the U.S. would have to do in the 90s to get there
   -- one or more students explain why this Future is the best
   -- one student explains why U.S. history shows this Future makes the most sense
   -- one student explains why the other Futures are dangerous or flawed
   -- one student comes up with a slogan for the Future, writing it on the board
   -- one or more students draw a cartoon or graphic supporting the Future
   -- one student makes up a jingle or rap song for the Future

   In addition, the students might advocate their Future in the form of a political announcement, a speech to Congress, or a television advertisement.

2. As they develop their presentation, caution students that while they should enjoy their role-playing, they must not "ham" or parody their roles. Remind students that they will be graded upon the accuracy of their performance, and that large numbers of Americans sincerely support each Future. Students can get a better "feel" for their assigned Future by examining its perspective on past events and current issues. This is found in the matrices on pp.60-63 of the student text.

3. During the second half of the period, student groups present their Future. The teacher should be prepared to step in if a student says something highly uncharacteristic of the Future and no other students catch the error. Following each presentation, the student audience should be encouraged to ask questions, ideally argumentative ones, of each group of Future "supporters."

Alternate:

Have each group construct debating positions that address the following questions:

- -- Why is their Future the best choice?
- -- Why is their Future the most realistic?
- -- Why are the other Futures inferior?
- -- Why their Future's policies are best for the U.S.?

Arrange the debate as a panel discussion, with each group giving an opening speech, followed by a shorter second round of statements for follow-ups and rebuttals. Following this, students may direct questions about the Futures to members of opposing groups.

Evaluation:

By the end of this lesson, students should have a deeper understanding of the perspective offered by one of the Futures.

Students can be evaluated on the basis of their participation in their group's presentation, and their participation in questioning other groups.

Homework for Part Five (pp. 71-80):

Before they vote on the Futures in Part Five, students should review all four Futures.

Students can also review the Futures by reading "The Four Futures at a Glance," student text p. 70, and "What Would We Do in the 90s to Head toward Each Future?," student text p. 71.

Supplemental activity #13: The Futures and Current Issues

Objective:

In four groups (each supporting a different future) students discuss current world events such as arms control and whether the U.S. should send military aid to Third World countries, from the perspectives of their different Futures.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials:

"The Four Futures at a Glance," student text, p. 70
"What Would We Do in the 90s to Head toward Each Future," student text, p. 71
Matrix: "The Futures and Current Issues," student text, pp. 60-61
Appendix C: "Notes on the Futures and Current Issues," pp. 117-130

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into four groups and assign each a Future. Whenever possible, avoid placing students in any Future for which they have already expressed strong support. In addition to exposing these students to another perspective they may not have considered, this helps prevent them from monopolizing the discussion.

2. Point out that "The Four Futures at a Glance," student text p. 70, and "What Would We Do in the 90s to Head toward Each Future?," student text p. 71, provide a handy reference to the Futures and the policies the U.S. would follow in the 1990s to work toward them.

3. Choose a setting for the role play. Possible settings include: a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a meeting of the National Security Council, a speech during a presidential campaign. (Avoid placing the role play in an international setting such as the United Nations, since this tends to bias the discussion in favor of Future 3.)

4. The class can choose or be assigned one of thirteen topics:

    -- the Soviets
    -- our greatest threat
    -- arms control
    -- U.S. allies
    -- Eastern Europe
    -- superpower competition in Third World countries
    -- human rights in the Soviet Union
    -- global problems
    -- "Star Wars"
    -- joint manned mission to Mars
    -- nuclear testing (honors)
    -- the START talks (honors)
    -- the Krasnoyarsk radar (honors)

For students working with any of the first eight topics listed, the matrix, "The Futures and Current Issues," student text pp. 60-61, provides brief sample positions from which they may develop a more detailed argument.

As a more challenging exercise for students, the remaining five topics are not covered in the student matrix. Of these, "Star Wars" and "a joint manned mission to Mars," are the easiest because students have already read that supporters of Futures 1 and 4 could support "Star Wars," and that supporters of Future 3 could support a "joint manned mission to Mars,". (With this knowledge, students may interpolate how other Futures may respond.)

Teachers should note that the perspectives on all thirteen topics are covered in Appendix C: "Notes on the Futures and Current Issues," pp. 117-130.

5. Before each role-play begins, describe the topic to the class and the issue it presents (e.g., "How should we deal with the Soviets?" or "Should we research a 'Star Wars' defense system?"). Appendix C provides a brief but informative account of each topic.

6. After the groups investigate the topic and the issue it presents, they take turns responding to the issue from the perspective of their Future, making sure to incorporate their Future's particular views and values. While students should enjoy their role-playing, they must not "ham" or parody their roles. Remind students that they will be graded upon the accuracy of their performance, and that large numbers of Americans sincerely support each Future.

7. Teachers should be prepared to suggest one of the sample responses from the current issues matrix or Appendix C if a student says something highly uncharacteristic of the Future and no other students catch the error. However, bear in mind that these responses are samples, and there are many other possible responses.

8. Student responses to the assigned topic can vary in length; the class can cover from one to three current issues in a period. At a certain point, the teacher may rearrange the student groups to give the students a new perspective.

Supplemental activity #14: The Futures and U.S. History

Objective:

Divided into four groups (each supporting a different Future), students respond to the events covered on the timeline in the student text. From the different perspectives of their assigned Futures, each group offers answers to the questions, "What should the U.S. learn from this event?"and "How should this event influence current and future U.S. foreign policy"

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials:

"The Four Futures at a Glance," student text p. 70
"The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1941-2010 (timeline)," student text pp. 14-15
Matrix: "The Futures and U.S. History," student text pp. 62-63
Appendix D: "Notes on the Futures and U.S. History," pp. 131-140

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into four groups and assign each a Future. Whenever possible, avoid placing students in a Future for which they have already expressed strong support. In addition to exposing these students to another perspective they may not have considered, this prevents them from dominating the group.

2. Point out that "The Four Futures at a Glance," student text p. 70, provides a handy reference for the Futures.

3. The class can choose or be assigned one of eight events covered in the student timeline:

    1949: NATO military alliance forms
    1961: The building of the Berlin Wall
    1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis
    1964-1973: U.S. troops fight in the Vietnam War
    1972: U.S. and Soviet leaders agree to a policy of détente
    1972: U.S. and China work successfully to improve their relationship
    1979: Soviet troops invade Afghanistan
    1987: Superpowers sign the INF Treaty

    The matrix, "The Futures and U.S. History," student text pp. 64-65, provides brief sample responses by the supporters of the different Futures to these events. These perspectives are covered in greater detail in Appendix D: "Notes on the Future and U.S. History," pp. 131-140.

4. Before each role-play begins, describe the event to the class and the questions it raises today: "What should the U.S. learn from this event?" "How should this event influence current and future U.S. foreign policy?" Appendix D provides a brief but informative account of each event. Alternatively, students can research these events on their own; the teacher may suggest some of the articles on the different events listed in Appendix G: "Bibliography."

5. After the groups have understood the event and the questions it raises, they take turns responding from the perspective of their Future, making sure to incorporate the Future's particular views and values. While students should enjoy their role-playing, they must not "ham" or parody their roles. Remind students that they will be graded upon the accuracy of their performance, and that large numbers of Americans sincerely support each Future.

6. The teacher should be prepared to suggest one of the sample responses from the matrix and Appendix D if a student says something highly uncharacteristic of the Future and no other students catch the error. However, bear in mind that these responses are samples, and there are many other possible responses.

7. Student responses to the event can vary in length; the class can cover from one to three events in a period. At a certain point, the teacher may rearrange the student groups to give the students a new perspective.

Note: Upon completing this activity, teachers may wish to have students look up the event they discussed in their course's textbook. Ask students to consider which Future they feel the text's author would support. Have students explain their reasons using specific evidence from their text. This is a challenging exercise in detecting bias.

Supplemental activity #15: Crisis!

Objective:

A crisis erupts on the Caribbean island of Jamaica; the "President" (the teacher) and the "board of advisers" (class), who are supporters of different Futures, discuss how the U.S. should respond.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into four groups, each group supporting a different Future. Inform them that they will play the role of supporters of different Futures who are close advisers to the President. The teacher plays the president.

2. We suggest creating a "boardroom effect" by lining up desks to make a big table, with the teacher sitting at the head of the table. Write "the White House" on the blackboard. Ideally, a map of the Americas or North America should be on the wall.

3. Announce to the students:

   "Ladies and gentlemen, I'm afraid we have a problem. As President of the United States, it is my responsibility to call an urgent meeting with you, my closest advisers.

   "The CIA has informed me that early this morning, the friendly government of Jamaica was overthrown by members of the Jamaican Communist Party. Jamaica is an island in the Caribbean that has always been friendly to the U.S. A group of three communist leaders went on Jamaican radio this morning to announce they have established a communist government. They criticized the old government for not treating its people well and for being an ally of the U.S.

   "I have also received news that the Soviet government is sending an official to greet the new Jamaican leaders. The island of Cuba, a Soviet ally located near Jamaica and the U.S., has already been sending military advisers to assist the new government.

   "Ladies and Gentlemen, the press is demanding that I make a statement in the next 30 minutes. I know you all may disagree with each other about some things, but we've got to decide what our course of action will be."

4. When students ask questions, play dumb and say that this is all you know at this time. Encourage an argument between the different Futures supporters. For example, when a Future 1 supporter suggests a U.S. invasion, ask the Future 3 supporters whether they think that is a good idea, etc.

5. By the end of class, examine what policy, if any, the students have worked out for the President. Why did they settle on this policy? Or why did they stall?

Alternate (honors):

"Cuban leader Fidel Castro has just died, and there are reports that the country is in turmoil. Pro-democratic Cuban forces are fighting Castro's guards for the capital. The Soviets caution the U.S. against interfering. How should the U.S. respond?"

Supplemental activity #16: The Four Futures and the "Brief History"

Objective:

Students reexamine the "Brief History" they covered in Part Two, from the perspectives of the different Futures.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials:

"America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History," student text, pp. 8-13
"The Four Futures at a Glance," student text, p. 70

Procedure:

1. Review "America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History," student text pp. 8-13. Explain that while the Brief History they have read is a fairly conventional account of post-war history, any historical presentation comes from a certain perspective. Did any students disagree with any parts of this presentation?

2. Discuss how the supporters of the different Futures might have written this "Brief History". (Remind students that "The Four Futures at a Glance," student text p. 70, provides a handy reference to the Futures.)

    -- Would Future 1 supporters agree with the tone with which the nuclear arms race is covered on p. 11 of the "Brief History"? How might they rewrite it?

    -- Would Future 2 supporters agree with how the nuclear arms race is covered on p. 11? Would they agree with the presentation of détente on p. 12?

    -- Would Future 3 supporters have focused so much on the differences between the Soviet and the U.S. system, and so little on the similarities, if they had written the "Brief History"? Would they have written about the Soviet Union differently?

    -- Would Future 4 supporters be inclined to speak of the U.S. and the Soviet Union as "the superpowers"?

Alternate (honors):

1. Students might rewrite the "Brief History" from the perspective of one of the Futures.

2. U.S. History classes could analyze and critique the perspective of their textbook.

3. Given time for research, students might rewrite the "Brief History" from their own perspective.

Supplemental activity #17: Interpreting the Daily News

Objective:

From the perspective of the different Futures, students analyze the national news of the day. This activity is especially worthwhile in the wake of any new development in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Time: One 45-minute period

Materials: A national newspaper

Procedure:

We suggest three possible exercises:

1. Divide the class into four groups. Assign each group a Future they must support. Distribute and discuss a current news story, editorial, or political cartoon on U.S.-Soviet relations or U.S. nuclear policy. Ask each group for their reactions as supporters of their Future.
2. Divide the class into the four groups, and assign students to bring in recent news stories, editorials, or political cartoons that they feel support their Future. Do some of these materials support more than one Future?
3. Ask the class to come up with ten major international events that happened in the past year. Put this list up on the board. Explain each event to the class, to make certain all students understand what happened. Then ask the class to consider each event and discuss whether it supports or refutes the perspective of one or more of the Futures.

Supplemental activity #18: Satire

Objective:

Students creatively mock one of the Futures by acting out a scene occurring in the year 2010. This exercise should show students that each perspective has its flaws and can be critiqued.

Time: Two 45-minute class periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Divide the class into four groups and assign each of the groups a Future. Within each group, the students will assume roles in a skit that takes place in the year 2010. The skit could exaggerate the potential hazards of that future or the attitudes of its supporters. Students might play the role of citizens, world leaders, or stereotypical supporters, or might personify countries.

2. After each skit, the entire class should discuss what aspect of the Future the group tried to satirize and why. Which other Future might embody that argument? Do some people believe the Future to be naive? dangerous? unrealistic? irresponsible?

PART FIVE: FOUR FUTURES BALLOTING

The sole lesson in Part Five, "Balloting," makes students decide which Future they think can best avoid nuclear war while preserving American values. The lesson takes one 45-minute class period.

Students fill out a two-page ballot, which asks them to assess their attitudes toward the Soviets, the nuclear arms race, and America's role in the world. After weighing the merits of each Future, each student should rank the Futures in order of preference.

Table of Contents

72 Balloting

74 Four Futures Ballot (A detachable copy of the Four Futures Ballot is located at the end of this resource book.)

76 Four Futures Ballot Tabulator

77 *Supplemental activity #19:* Discussing the Ballot Results
78 *Supplemental activity #20:* Comparing the Results with a National Sample
79 *Supplemental activity #21:* Reporting the Results Beyond the Classroom

Balloting

Objective:

This lesson brings students closer to answering for themselves the important question raised in Part Two: *What kind of a future should the U.S. head toward?*

In this lesson, students review the Futures for the last time, and fill out a two-page ballot. The ballot forces students to think through their attitudes toward the Soviets, nuclear arms, and the role of the U.S. in the world before deciding which of the four Futures they think is best.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials:

"Before You Vote," student text, p. 64
22-minute VHS video tape, "America, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms: Looking to the Future" (optional)
"Four Futures Ballot," pp. 74-75 and at the end of this resource book
"Four Futures Ballot Tabulator," p. 76

Procedure:

1. Have the class read "Before You Vote," student text p. 64. Answer any final questions students may have about the Futures.

   If the students' knowledge of the Futures appears to be shaky, consider re-showing the 22-minute video tape on the Futures.

2. Distribute the ballot. As they fill out the ballot, stress that students should feel free to put down their personal opinions, as long as they are expressed clearly and thoughtfully. As with an election ballot, there are no "right" or "wrong" responses.

   Note: The questions in the first section of the ballot are the same questions raised in the "Tough Questions Facing Americans Today" questionnaire in Part One, p. 27.

3. After students have completed the ballot, their final ranking of the Futures at the end of the ballot can be tabulated in class by a show of hands. Alternatively, the ballot can be "closed" and privately tabulated by the teacher.

4. Announce the ballot results at the end of the period, or at the beginning of the following period.

Tabulating the Ballot:

1. Use the Four Futures Ballot Tabulator on p. 76 to tabulate how the class ranked the Futures. An easy approach is to underline with a highlighter, or place a ruler underneath the appropriate row denoting the number of ballots turned in -- this will make it easier to record the correct percentages. Write the percentages down on a blank copy of the ballot.

2. Teachers can tabulate total support for each Future by adding the percentages of students ranking a given Future as their first or second choice.

3. Teachers using this curriculum in more than one class may wish to arrive at a combined figure.

Evaluation:

By the end of this lesson, students should have thoughtfully completed the four Futures Ballot.

Students should *not* be evaluated on the basis of which Future they decide is the best, since there are no "right" or "wrong" Futures. However, student responses in the ballot should be clear and thoughtfully worded.

Teachers may compare student responses in the first section of the ballot with their earlier responses to the same questions in the "Tough Questions Facing Americans Today" questionnaire in Part One. Students should answer these same questions in the ballot with greater thoughtfulness and appreciation of the complexity of these issues.

Homework for Part Six (pp. 81-90):

Students should read "Can You Think of a 'Future 5'?" student text, p. 65.

FOUR FUTURES BALLOT

Now is your chance to decide for yourself which Future can best prevent nuclear war, while preserving our values. As you fill out the ballot below, keep in mind what you have heard and discussed in class. As in an election ballot, there are no "right" or "wrong" responses.

Tough questions facing Americans today

Does the Soviet Union threaten our country and our values?

Can we and the Soviets end the nuclear arms race?

Can we trust the Soviets?

Does having nuclear weapons make our country safer?

Should America get involved in wars in faraway countries?

Comparing the four Futures

How do you feel about the four Futures you have reviewed? Mark how strongly you favor or oppose each Future.

	STRONGLY FAVOR	SOMEWHAT FAVOR	SOMEWHAT OPPOSE	STRONGLY OPPOSE	NOT SURE
FUTURE ONE: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand *Grow more powerful than the Soviets militarily, economically, and politically, until they no longer threaten the U.S.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FUTURE TWO: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise *End the arms race and reduce the risk of a major war with the Soviets, but still compete with them for influence around the world.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FUTURE THREE: Cooperative Problem Solving *Cooperate closely with the Soviets on common problems facing both nations, like terrorism, in order to build trust.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FUTURE FOUR: Defend Only North America *Gradually bring our troops home and let our allies take care of themselves. Focus on problems at home.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Evaluating the Futures

Which Future do you think is the *most* dangerous?

Which Future do you think is the *least* dangerous?

Which Future do you think will *most* likely happen by 2010?

Which Future do you think will *least* likely happen by 2010?

How did you like the Futures?

What do you like about Future 1?

What do you like about Future 2?

What do you like about Future 3?

What do you like about Future 4?

What Future should our country work toward?

Imagine you are a White House advisor and the President wants your opinion on which Future the U.S. should follow. Rank the Futures, with "1" being the best Future our country should follow, "2" being the second best policy, etc.

FUTURE 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand ☐

FUTURE 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise ☐

FUTURE 3: Cooperative Problem Solving ☐

FUTURE 4: Defend Only North America ☐

FOUR FUTURES BALLOT TABULATOR

		Number Of Votes Per FUTURE																													
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Number	10	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100																				
Of	11	9	18	27	36	45	55	64	73	82	91	100																			
Students	12	8	17	25	33	42	50	58	67	75	83	92	100																		
Per	13	8	15	23	31	38	46	54	62	69	77	85	92	100																	
Class	14	7	14	21	29	36	43	50	57	64	71	79	86	93	100																
	15	7	.13	20	27	33	40	47	53	60	67	73	80	87	93	100															
	16	6	13	19	25	31	38	44	50	56	63	69	75	81	88	94	100														
	17	6	12	18	24	29	35	41	47	53	59	65	71	76	82	88	94	100													
	18	6	11	17	22	28	33	39	44	50	56	61	67	72	78	83	89	94	100												
	19	5	11	16	21	26	32	37	42	47	53	58	63	68	74	79	84	89	95	100											
	20	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	100										
	21	5	10	14	19	24	29	33	38	43	48	52	57	62	67	71	76	81	86	90	95	100									
	22	5	9	14	18	23	27	32	36	41	45	50	55	59	64	68	73	77	82	86	91	95	100								
	23	4	9	13	17	22	26	30	35	39	43	48	52	57	61	65	70	74	78	83	87	91	96	100							
	24	4	8	13	17	21	25	29	33	38	42	46	50	54	58	63	67	71	75	79	83	88	92	96	100						
	25	4	8	12	16	20	24	28	32	36	40	44	48	52	56	60	64	68	72	76	80	84	88	92	96	100					
	26	4	8	12	15	19	23	27	31	35	38	42	46	50	54	58	62	65	69	73	77	81	85	88	92	96	100				
	27	4	7	11	15	19	22	26	30	33	37	41	44	48	52	56	59	63	67	70	74	78	81	85	89	93	96	100			
	28	4	7	11	14	18	21	25	29	32	36	39	43	46	50	54	57	61	64	68	71	75	79	82	86	89	93	96	100		
	29	3	7	10	14	17	21	24	28	31	34	38	41	45	48	52	55	59	62	66	69	72	76	79	83	86	90	93	97	100	
	30	3	7	10	13	17	20	23	27	30	33	37	40	43	47	50	53	57	60	63	67	70	73	77	80	83	87	90	93	97	100

FIND OUT HOW EACH FUTURE DID IN YOUR CLASS: LOCATE YOUR CLASS SIZE AND READ ACROSS TO SEE THE %!

Supplemental activity #19: Discussing the Ballot Results

Objective: Students discuss the results of the balloting.

Time: One 45-minute period or less

Materials: Results of student balloting

Procedure:

Distribute photocopies of the ballot results, place them on the board, or announce them to the students. What are their immediate reactions? Are the results what they expected? How did the students decide which Future to rank first and last?

Possible discussion topics:

1. Did students' attitudes toward the Futures change during the unit? Did one Future in particular gain popularity? Did one Future's popularity drop? If so, why did this happen?
2. What parts of each of the Futures did students like the most?
3. Discuss the five "tough questions" in the first section of the ballot.

Caution: Throughout the discussions, take great care to avoid creating a "tyranny of the majority," where students holding minority views are considered naive or ignorant by the other students. Be prepared to defend the minority opinion, and the right to hold one, reminding students that this too is an important American value.

Supplemental activity #20: Comparing the Results with a National Sample

Objective:

Students compare the results of their balloting with a 1988 national opinion study on the Futures.

Time: One 45-minute class period

Materials: Results of student balloting

National Sample Results:

In January 1988, researchers presented the four Futures to citizens of Baltimore, Chicago, Nashville, San Antonio and Seattle, as part of the project *The Public, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms.* Almost 1,000 people from these five cities were gathered in "Citizen Review Panels" which featured over two hours of education and discussion on the four Futures, their pros and cons. This sample of people approximates a national poll, and offers our best available view of the American people's considered judgment on the four Futures:

NATIONAL SAMPLE, JANUARY 1988

	First Choice	Second Choice	First or Second Choice
Future 1	24%	15%	39%
Future 2	28%	46%	74%
Future 3	46%	30%	76%
Future 4	4%	8%	12%

Procedure:

Explain to the class that a national survey was conducted in early 1988. Write on the board the percentage of students in the class who ranked each Future first or second. Next to these figures, write the percentage of people in the national (five-city) survey who ranked each Future first or second.

1. How did classroom results differ from the national sample? Point out that for a class of 30 or fewer, a change in just a few people's opinions can lead to at least a 10% shift, so that class percentages cannot be taken too literally.

2. If the results are fundamentally different from the national sample (over 10%), how do students account for this? Why were did they find certain Futures more or less popular than other Americans? Remind students that citizens participating in this sample gave just as much thought to the Futures.

3. If a new national sample were taken today, would the data be different?

Caution: Throughout the discussion, take great care to avoid creating a "tyranny of the majority," where students holding minority views are considered naive or ignorant by the other students. Be prepared to defend the minority opinion, and the right to hold one, reminding students that this too is an important American value.

Supplemental activity #21: Reporting the Results Beyond the Classroom

Objective: Students publicize the results of the balloting.

Time: Flexible

Materials: Results of student balloting

Procedure:

1. Students write an article about the Futures and the results of their balloting in their school newspaper, and give their own analysis of the results.
2. If more than one class is balloting, students can compare the various results, and interpret the similarities and differences between them.
3. Students may write letters to the editor of the school newspaper responding to the ballot results, explaining why they agree or disagree with the majority.

PART SIX: MOVING BEYOND THE FUTURES

Now that the alternative Futures framework has guided students through an exploration of possible goals for the U.S. in the years ahead, students can shed this framework and more freely consider what America's goals for the future should be. The sole lesson in Part Six, "Can You Think of a 'Future 5'?" asks students to develop an imaginative but realistic Future that addresses their own point of view. Students then present their "Future 5" as a written or oral report.

Part Six also includes six supplemental activities that challenge students to apply the knowledge and skills they have acquired to "real-life" issues and events.

Table of Contents

82 Can You Think of a "Future 5"?

85 *Supplemental activity #22:* Forging a Classroom Consensus
86 *Supplemental activity #23:* Presidential Election Role Play
87 *Supplemental activity #24:* Considering the Soviet Perspective
88 *Supplemental activity #25:* Tough Issues Facing the U.S. (honors)
89 *Supplemental activity #26:* Reexamining U.S. History (honors)
90 *Supplemental activity #27:* Participating in the National Debate

Can You Think of a "Future 5"?

Objective:

In this concluding lesson, students answer for themselves the fundamental question raised at the beginning of the unit: *What kind of a future should the U.S. head toward?* Each student develops a "Future 5,"a set of goals that America might head toward to avoid nuclear war while preserving its important values. For many students this is the most challenging and rewarding lesson as it forces them to synthesize their personal beliefs and attitudes toward world affairs into a comprehensive scenario for the U.S. in 2010.

This lesson assigns students, in groups of two or three, to develop their Future 5 as either a written or an oral report. We have included suggestions for each.

Time:

Explaining the guidelines for Future 5 written or oral reports will require approximately half of one 45-minute class period.

Written Future 5 reports can be started in the time remaining in the period after the assignment's guidelines are explained. These reports may be completed as a homework assignment. On the day these written reports are due, but before they are collected and graded, students should discuss, challenge, and defend the Futures they have created.

Oral Future 5 reports can be started in the time remaining after the assignment's guidelines are explained. Students may then finish preparing their reports as homework. For the presentation of the reports, one or more additional 45-minute periods will be required depending upon the depth of the assignment, the length of the oral reports and subsequent audience questioning.

Materials:

"Can You Think of a 'Future 5'?" student text, p. 65

Suggested Procedure:

1. Explain to the class that since they have finished with the four Futures, they will now have the opportunity to answer the question "What kind of future should we head toward?" by developing their own "Future 5" -- one which will address their personal concerns and points of view.

2. Carefully review "Can You Think of a 'Future 5'?" student text p. 65. Make sure the students understand the seven rules for constructing a Future 5. Stress that students can use their imagination to formulate any kind of future they wish as long as they stick to these seven rules.

3. Allow students to form groups of two or three for this assignment. (Suggest that they work with those classmates whose views in previous activities were similar to their own.) Once the group has developed an overall goal, and discussed the various parts of their Future 5 together, group members may choose to divide the written/oral presentation of their Future 5 so that each person is responsible for a different part.

4. In constructing their Future 5, students should first assess the four Futures they have encountered. What did they like about each of the Futures? Students may wish to combine various elements from two or more Futures to help develop their fifth Future. (However, students developing a Future 5 highly similar to one in the curriculum should be prepared to explain how their Future 5 is different.) The students should also ask themselves what they *didn't* like about the futures. Those students who feel that none of the futures addresses their personal concerns now have the opportunity to develop one that does.

5. Future 5 can cover any number of subjects as long as it addresses what America's relationship with the Soviet Union will be in 2010 and explains how America can avoid nuclear war while preserving American values. Students' Future 5 can involve additional countries, deal with additional possible threats to the U.S. (e.g., drug abuse), or reflect an entirely different world view so long as it answers the question, "How can America avoid nuclear war while perserving its values?"

Written Future 5 reports:

1. Students write a report about their Future 5 using the same format as in the presentation of the four Futures. The report should describe the student's vision of U.S.-Soviet relations in 2010, and explain which policies the U.S. would have to adopt in the 1990s to realize it. Students must list a number of possible reasons to support *and* oppose their Future that cover why it might be a good/bad Future and why it would/wouldn't work. (U.S. History classes may want students to cite historical events that show why their Future is a good one and can work.) *

2. Alternatively, students can write a "History of the U.S. from 1990 to 2010," accounting for how their Future changed the world, written as if it were a U.S. history lesson in the future. Students should supply a timeline with their report.

Oral Future 5 Reports:

1. Like the written reports, students' oral presentations should describe the future in 2010, and explain what the U.S. would have to do in the 1990s to get there. They must list a number of possible reasons to support *and* oppose their Future that cover why it is a good/bad idea and why it would/wouldn't work. (Suggest students write down some notes to guide their oral presentation, so they don't forget important elements of their Future 5.) *

2. Alternatively, students can present their Future 5 as a persuasive speech, outlining why the U.S. should head toward their Future. Students should be prepared to defend their Future against critics.

3. Students can supplement their presentation with posters, music, poetry, slogans, timelines, and other materials.

4. Following each presentation, students should be prepared to answer questions from the teacher and other students.

---

* For more extensive reports, students might explain how U.S. allies, the Soviet Union, and other countries could react if the U.S. chose this Future. They might examine the possible economic consequences of their Future 5. They might also outline their fundamental beliefs about the U.S., the Soviet Union, and the world that undergird their Future.

Evaluation:

By the end of this lesson, students should have developed and articulated their Future 5.

Future 5 descriptions should show imagination, but should also be realistic. Students must demonstrate an awareness of possible reasons to oppose their Future 5. Teachers should point out aspects of student Futures that are inconsitent with guidelines listed in "Can You Think of a 'Future 5'?" student text p. 65.

Note: Just as they have avoided expressing personal support of any one of the four Futures, teachers should avoid criticizing the opinions expressed in any student's Future 5, however liberal or conservative, as long as the opinions are consistent with the Future's goals and do not break the guidelines listed in the student text.

Supplemental activity #22: Forging a Classroom Consensus

Objective:

Students break off into "parties," develop and then ratify a political platform. This role-playing exercise gives students the experience of political consensus-building that regularly occurs in governments, political parties, and other policy-making bodies.

Time: Two or more 45-minute periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Divide students into four groups, with each group containing students that voted for a particular Future on the Four Futures ballot. If a Future has only one supporter (or no supporters), assign supporters from the most popular Future to that Future, so that all Futures are represented by at least a few students.

2. The group of students who supported the most popular Future shall be the *majority party*. The other three groups shall be the *minority parties*. For efficiency, each party should nominate its own spokesperson.

3. All the parties shall draft a "party platform." Party members list their consensus opinions on the current foreign policy issues that the class has covered and/or that the teacher has assigned to them. These issues need not have been covered earlier, and can include such topics as the military draft, dealing with Iran, etc.

4. Once the party platforms have been drafted, the majority party must submit its platform to the other three minority parties. They in turn will each confer within their own party, compare it with their own platforms, and decide whether to accept unconditionally, to accept conditionally, or to reject the majority party's respective platform opinions.

5. When this is completed, each platform opinion of the majority party will come up for a vote on ratification. If the opinion is not unconditionally accepted by three out of the four parties, the four parties must try to build the three-fourths support needed to ratify by changing the wording, softening or strengthening the policy, etc.

6. There is no limit (except available time) to the types of special arrangements and interparty "deals" that can be made in order to reach necessary compromises. Some opinions may finally have to be rejected, but the teacher should encourage the students to develop as large a consensus as possible among the four parties before the end of the activity.

7. By the end, the parties should have written an official "platform paper" listing their agreed-upon policy stances. Each student should receive a copy of this paper.

Supplemental activity #23: Presidential Election Role Play

Objective:

Students vote for their favorite "presidential candidate's" stand on how he/she would deal with the Soviet Union if elected.

Time: one 45-minute period

Materials: None

Procedure:

Hold a "presidential election" with each student candidate defending his/her opinion on how the U.S. should deal with the Soviet Union and what should be the future of U.S.-Soviet relations.

1. For extra credit, students who wish to "run for president" could deliver a brief speech and answering questions on how they would deal with the Soviet Union. These students could draw from their "Future 5" presentations.
2. Following the candidate's speeches, audience members should question the candidates on their foreign policy opinions. Non-candidates, playing the role of newspaper reporters or other inquisitive American citizens, should come with prepared questions. The scenario could be a busy press conference in which all students try to get their question answered during the allotted time
3. At the end of class, the audience would vote on which candidate gave the most convincing speech.
4. In honors classes, candidates could also be encouraged to discuss whether they might cut, increase, or maintain defense spending, whether they would assist "freedom-fighting" groups like the Contras, whether they would favor further arms reductions talks with Gorbachev, whether they would consider increasing trade with the Soviets, or whether they would favor cooperating with the Soviets on science and technological breakthroughs.

Supplemental activity #24: Considering the Soviet Perspective

Objective:

From a Soviet perspective, students examine issues concerning the USSR, its national interests and U.S.-Soviet rleations.

Time: One or more 45-minute periods

Materials: Appendix G: "Bibliography," pp. 159-168

Procedure: Discuss:

1. What would Soviets think about the Four Futures and how their country is described in the Four Futures? in the Brief History? How might an average Soviet citizen describe his/her country? How would a government official/ranking Party member describe it? How would Gorbachev describe the USSR?

2. What threats do Soviets see facing their country? How might the U.S. threaten the Soviet Union or its values?

3. Discussion topic:

   Have the students imagine that they are Soviet citizens considering the following four Futures. Instruct them to develop a list of pros and cons for each (remember, though, from a *Soviet perspective*).

   1. *Soviet Union gains the Upper Hand:* Work to some day achieve dominance over the U.S. in the world

   2. *Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise:* Reduce the nuclear threat but still compete against the U.S. in other areas

   3. *Cooperative Problem Solving:* Work together with the U.S. as a means of building trust

   4. *Defend Only "Mother Russia":* Pull out of Eastern Europe, concentrate on domestic problems

   Which Future, or combination of Futures, do students think the Soviet Union is following? What evidence indicates that they are following this Future? Why would the Soviet Union follow this Future? Does this differ from the Future the students think the Soviet people want?

4. With time for research, students may add depth to their discussion. The bibliography in Appendix G suggests a variety of sources on the Soviet Union and its people.

Supplemental activity #25: Tough Issues Facing the U.S. (honors)

Objective:

Students discuss and debate important policy questions and consider difficult policy trade-offs.

Time: One or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: Appendix C: "Notes on the Futures and Current Issues" (optional), pp. 117-130

Procedure:

Students discuss and debate some of the following issues:

1. Consider one of the current issues covered in Appendix C: "Notes on the Futures and Current Issues." How could the U.S. respond? What risks and costs are involved? How would the rest of the world react to the U.S.'s actions?
2. What should be the role of the U.S. in the world? Defender of democracy? Leader in arms control? Isolationist? Should communism concern the United States?
3. Many Americans are concerned by the growing power of Japan in the world. If Japan became more powerful than the U.S. politically and economically (but not militarily), would this threaten the U.S.?
4. Should the U.S. aid anti-communist groups and governments in the Third World, even if this policy means sometimes supporting dictators and others who do not believe in democracy?
5. Should the U.S. agree to more economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, even if this cooperation strengthens the Soviet economy?
6. What makes the U.S. a "superpower?" Must the U.S. stay a superpower for its values to remain intact?

Supplemental activity #26: Reexamining U.S. History (honors)

Objective:

Students discuss and debate difficult issues in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Time: One or more 45-minute periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

Students debate and discuss some of the following issues:

1. Examine the history of the Soviet Union since World War II. What do you think has been the Soviet Union's general foreign policy? When (if ever) have U.S. and Soviet interests collided?
2. What have been the key assumptions and beliefs about the Soviets that Americans have acted on in the past forty years? Which of them do you agree and disagree with?
3. Examine the history of the nuclear arms race, from Hiroshima to today. Why do you think the arms race has not ended? Can it end? Should it?
4. Examine the history of the Cold War. Is the Cold War over?
5. "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to fulfill it" -- George Santayana (1863-1952).

   Discuss this famous quotation (often cited as ". . . condemned to repeat it"), and how it could relate to the choices Americans make for the future.

Supplemental activity #27: Participating in the National Debate

Objective:

Students assume an active role in our national foreign policy debate by writing to elected officials and expressing their informed views on U.S. foreign policy, U.S.-Soviet relations and nuclear weapons policy.

Time: Two or more 45-minute class periods

Materials: None

Procedure:

1. Tell students that, as citizens, they have the responsibility of sharing their views with government officials, and electing officials whose goals and policies are most consistent with their own views of what is best for our nation. Students should look into how their senators, representatives and the President stand on some of the foreign policy issues discussed in class. Students may write to their elected officials for policy statements on these issue.

2. Using the ideas articulated in their own Future 5, students will write a letter to an elected official, explaining what they think the U.S.'s basic foreign policy goals should be and what the should be done to attain them. Once completed, these letters should be mailed. Students should be told to expect a response within three to six weeks. (Encourage students to bring in their responses to share with the class. Response letters are often highly motivating for students as they realize that their voices *have* been heard! A follow-up discussion day with these responses will reinforce the idea that the issues raised in their letters require ongoing, long-term, consideration and action.)

3. Alternatively, students may write to the editor of the school or local newspaper, supporting or opposing a policy they feel strongly about.

4. Students and teachers should check newspapers, educational programs, and civic organizations for essay contests that may address these issues.

5. Enthusiastic students may wish to host a discussion group on these issues with other classes, a student government group, teachers, or parents. At the very least, students should always be encouraged to discuss foreign policy issues with their friends, their parents, and other teachers.

APPENDICES

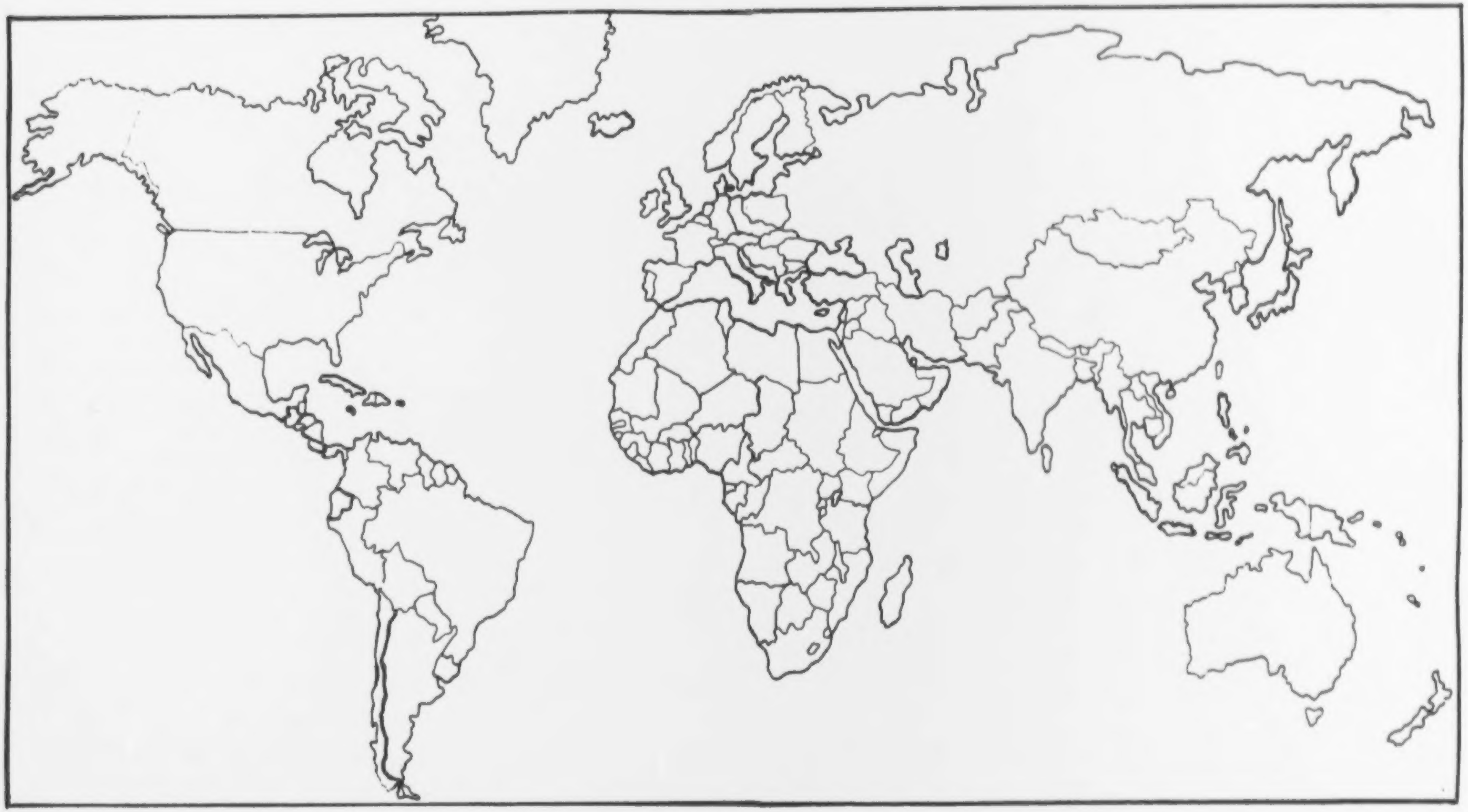
93 APPENDIX A: Teaching Aids
99 APPENDIX B: Evaluation Materials
117 APPENDIX C: Notes on the Futures and Current Issues
131 APPENDIX D: Notes on the Futures and U.S. History
141 APPENDIX E: Glossary
147 APPENDIX F: The Superpowers and the Nuclear Arms Race
159 APPENDIX G: Bibliography
169 BALLOT

APPENDIX A: TEACHING AIDS

Table of Contents

95 Blank Map of World
97 Blank Timeline

THE WORLD



© 1984 Martin Greenwald Associates, Inc.

APPENDIX B: EVALUATION MATERIALS

Table of Contents

101 Quiz on "America, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History"

103 Quiz on Future 1

105 Quiz on Future 2

107 Quiz on Future 3

109 Quiz on Future 4

111 Test on the Four Futures

113 Quiz and Test Answers

NAME:________________________

CLASS:________________________

AMERICA, THE SOVIETS AND NUCLEAR ARMS

A Brief History

1. List the full names of the four Futures:

2. What do the four Futures have in common?

3. What happened between the Soviet Union and Western Europe after World War II ended?

4. What is NATO? What does it do? How is the U.S. involved?

5. Explain the meaning of the following statement: With their nuclear weapons, the superpowers have *deterred* each other from attacking.

6. What are "Third World" countries? Give two examples.

7. What happened during the "Cuban Missile Crisis"?

8. What is "détente"?

9. What did the Soviet Union do in 1979 that angered many Americans?

10. Explain the plan that has been called "Star Wars"?

NAME:__________________________

CLASS:__________________________

FUTURE 1: THE U.S. GAINS THE UPPER HAND

1. Imagine you are a strong supporter of Future 1. What do you believe about the Soviet Union?

2. How would Future 1 affect taxes? What would be America's spending priorities?

3. What happens to Eastern Europeans who try to head for Western Europe without permission?

Give two good reasons to support Future 1:

4.

5.

Give two good reasons to oppose Future 1:

6.

7.

List two things the U.S. would have to do in the 1990s to reach Future 1:

8.

9.

10. Imagine you are a strong supporter of Future 1. How would you react if the U.S. decided to bring home half of its 300,000 troops stationed in Western Europe? Why would you react this way?

NAME:________________________

CLASS:________________________

FUTURE 2: ELIMINATE THE NUCLEAR THREAT; COMPETE OTHERWISE

1. What are “hot spots”? Give two examples.

2. Which side has more conventional weapons, the U.S. and its allies in Western Europe or the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe?

List two things the U.S. would have to do in the 1990s to reach Future 2:

3.

4.

5. Imagine you are a strong supporter of Future 2. If the Soviet army invaded one of its neighboring countries tomorrow, would you still support arms control talks with the Soviets? Why or why not?

Give two good reasons to support Future 2:

6.

7.

Give two good reasons to oppose Future 2:

8.

9.

10. Imagine that there is a revolt in Poland, a communist country in Eastern Europe that has a pro-Soviet government. Poland is a country that is in a "hot spot." The Soviets send tanks to Poland to establish law and order. The Polish people ask the U.S. to send troops to liberate their country from the Soviets. If you were the President of the United States and were a strong Future 2 supporter, would you send troops? Why or why not?

NAME:__________________________

CLASS:__________________________

FUTURE 3: COOPERATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING

1. In Future 3, would the superpowers be allies in 2010?

List two things the U.S. would have to do in the 1990s to head toward Future 3:

2.

3.

Give two good reasons to support Future 3:

4.

5.

Give two good reasons to oppose Future 3:

6.

7.

8. Imagine it is 1992, and the U.S. has officially decided to work toward Future 3. You are a Soviet scientist working on a cure for AIDS. What might your reaction be?

For questions 9 and 10, imagine you are a strong supporter of Future 3:

9. Why do you support a joint U.S.-Soviet manned space mission to Mars?

10. What is your position on reaching arms control agreements with the Soviets?

NAME:________________________

CLASS:________________________

FUTURE 4: DEFEND ONLY NORTH AMERICA

1. According to Future 4 supporters, what is likely to get the U.S. involved in a nuclear war?

2. In Future 4, would the U.S. still do business with other countries?

3. Imagine you are a Future 4 supporter. Do you think the Soviets threaten America? Why or why not?

List two things the U.S. would have to do in the 1990s to head toward Future 4:

4.

5.

Give two good reasons to support Future 4:

6.

7.

Give two good reasons to oppose Future 4:

8.

9.

10. What makes Future 4 so different from the other three Futures?

NAME:__________________________

CLASS:__________________________

THE FOUR FUTURES

1. Put these historical events in the order of how they happened:
(Extra credit: give the years in which these events happened.)

Incorrect order	Correct order
Soviet troops invade Afghanistan	
Superpowers sign the INF Treaty	
NATO military alliance forms	
Cuban Missile Crisis	
U.S. troops fight in the Vietnam War	

Describe what the U.S. will have accomplished by 2010 in each of the Futures:

2. Future 1:

3. Future 2:

4. Future 3:

5. Future 4:

To what degree should we trust the Soviets? Respond from the perspectives of the different Futures:

6. Future 1:

7. Future 2:

8. Future 3:

9. Future 4:

10. Imagine you are a Future 2 supporter. Why do you think Future 3 is dangerous?

11. Imagine you are a Future 1 supporter. Why do you think Future 4 is dangerous?

12. Imagine you are a Future 4 supporter. Why do you think Future 1 is dangerous?

(13-20). Pick one Future, and give four good reasons to support it and four good reasons to oppose it:

Quiz and Test Answers

Quiz on "America, the Soviets and Nuclear Arms: A Brief History"

1. Future 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand
   Future 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise
   Future 3: Cooperative Problem Solving
   Future 4: Defend Only North America

2. All the Futures offer an answer to how the U.S. can avoid nuclear war while preserving its values. In addition, all are actively concerned about the environment.

3. The Soviets kept their soldiers and weapons in Eastern Europe, and forced the countries there to become communist. Fearing that the Soviets would take over Western Europe as well, the U.S. and its allies formed NATO. The "Cold War" began.

4. NATO is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO members pledge to protect each other if attacked. The U.S. is a founding member and still contributes heavily to the defense of Europe.

5. This means that the superpowers try to prevent each other from attacking by keeping enough nuclear weapons to destroy the other country.

6. "Third World" is the name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. Many Third World countries are extremely poor.

7. The Soviet Union installed nuclear missiles on Cuba. President Kennedy demanded that the Soviets remove them. The Soviets refused. After a tense face-off, the Soviets backed down and removed the missiles. The superpowers came close to a nuclear war.

8. "Détente" was a policy of reducing tension between the superpowers, which fell apart by the late 1970s.

9. Many Americans were angry in 1979 when Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan.

10. "Star Wars," also known as the Strategic Defense Initiative or SDI, is a controversial military plan proposed by Ronald Reagan in 1983 to research ways of shooting down incoming nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is under attack.

Quiz on Future 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand

1. The Soviet Union is a hostile and aggressive state that hopes someday to take over the world. They cannot be trusted.

2. It would probably raise taxes.

3. They are considered "enemies of the state" and are often thrown in jail.

4 - 9. See "Supplemental Notes" on Future 1, p. 50.

10. You would be very upset, because you believe our troops should strongly defend Western Europe.

Quiz on Future 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

1. "Hot spots" are areas of the world where tensions between the U.S. and Soviet Union are so high that there is a chance of a small crisis erupting into a global war. These areas include Europe, the Middle East, and Korea.

2. The Soviets and their allies in Eastern Europe have more conventional weapons.

3 - 4. See "Supplemental Notes" on Future 2, p. 51.

5. You might be angry and think the U.S. should protest, disapprove and maybe even try to get the Soviets out of the neighboring country, but you would still support arms control with the Soviets. In Future 2, arms control should not be "held hostage" by other issues.

6 - 9. See "Supplemental Notes" on Future 2, p. 51.

10. You would probably not send troops, since Poland is in a "hot spot." U.S. intervention in Poland (according to Future 2 supporters) could trigger a nuclear war.

Quiz on Future 3: Cooperative Problem Solving

1. The superpowers would not be allies in 2010, but they would not be enemies either.

2-7. See "Supplemental Notes" on Future 3, p. 52.

8. You would probably be pleased, since greater U.S.-Soviet cooperation, especially technical cooperation, would help your research.

9. A joint mission to Mars would improve relations between the superpowers because they would have to work together closely and share their technology and experience. The Soviet Union and the U.S. would trust each other much more after cooperating on this project.

10. We shouldn't push hard for nuclear arms control in the beginning, since we must first cooperate more to build trust and improve relations.

Quiz on Future 4: Defend Only North America

1. The greatest risk of the U.S. getting involved in a nuclear war comes from it being involved in too many places around the world, and getting dragged into a conflict that erupts into a nuclear war.

2. Yes, it would.

3. As long as we can defend North America (and this is easy), the Soviets cannot threaten us. In addition, our nuclear weapons deter them from attacking. And we may build a "Star Wars" system to protect us even more.

4-9. See "Supplemental Notes" on Future 4, p. 53.

10. It is the only Future that believes our relationship with the Soviets is not important.

Test on the Four Futures

1. NATO military alliance formed (1949)
   Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)
   U.S. troops fight in the Vietnam War (1964-1973)
   Soviet troops invade Afghanistan (1979)
   Superpowers sign the INF Treaty (1987)

2-5. See Future descriptions, student text pp. 19-58.

6. Future 1: We should not trust the Soviets.

7. Future 2: We should not trust the Soviets, but we don't have to in order to eliminate the nuclear threat.

8. Future 3: We must build trust through intense cooperation with the Soviets, since mistrust and hostility are the root cause of the conflict.

9. Future 4: Whether we trust or don't trust the Soviets is not important. The Soviets do not threaten us, since we can easily defend North America from attack. Our main concerns are with solving problems at home.

10. According to Future 2 supporters, Future 3 is dangerous because the Soviets might turn on us some day if we cooperate with them. Since we would have shared our advanced technology with them, they would be a more powerful threat than ever. Future 3 also is dangerous because it doesn't make nuclear arms control agreements its highest priority; cooperating with the Soviets will not reduce the risk of war.

11. According to Future 1 supporters, Future 4 is dangerous because withdrawing our troops from the world would mean the Soviets would quickly take our place and become the most powerful country in the world. The U.S. would soon become one of the few remaining democratic countries in a hostile world.

12. According to Future 4 supporters, Future 1 is dangerous because it could drag the U.S. into many wars, even a nuclear war, and cost us billions of dollars that could be better spent at home.

13-20. See "Supplemental Notes on the Futures for Class Discussion," pp. 50-53.

APPENDIX C: NOTES ON THE FUTURES AND CURRENT ISSUES

This Appendix describes 13 issues in U.S.-Soviet relations, and examines them from the perspectives of the four Futures:

118 The Soviets
119 Our Greatest Threat
120 Arms Control
121 Our Allies
122 Eastern Europe
123 Superpower Competition in Third World Countries
124 Human Rights in the Soviet Union
125 Global Problems
126 "Star Wars"
127 Joint Manned Mission to Mars
128 Nuclear Testing (honors)
129 The START Talks (honors)
130 The Krasnoyarsk Radar (honors)

The Soviets

For over 40 years, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have been engaged in a nuclear arms race, a military standoff in Europe, and in a "Cold War." Under the leadership of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev (who came to power in early 1985), the Soviets have professed a new interest in moderating the superpower competition. Soviet initiatives have included the removal of the USSR's 100,000 troops from Afghanistan and to allow on-site inspections of Soviet missile bases and production facilities as part of the INF Treaty, as well as the domestic reforms known as *perestroika* (restructuring of the economy) and *glasnost* ("openness", i.e., greater tolerance of domestic debate and dissent). Western observers disagree whether Gorbachev's policies are a sign of a real desire to change superpower relations in the long run or are an attempt to buy "breathing space" for economic reforms that will make the Soviets a stronger and more aggressive adversary in years to come.

The issue: What should be our attitude toward the Soviets?

FUTURE 1

The Soviet Union is an aggressive nation that ultimately wants nothing less than to control the world. Only we can stop the Soviets, and we must. Naturally, they can't be trusted. Their latest foreign policy concessions are tactical; and their domestic reforms are a way of gearing up their economy to pose a still more formidable threat, not a fundamental move towards a truly democratic system. The USSR is in a weak position right now, which means that now is the right time for the U.S. to push hard.

FUTURE 2

Although the Soviets are dangerous and will rival the U.S. for some time, neither country wants to see the whole world destroyed in a nuclear war. We can and should reach verifiable agreements -- on deep nuclear reductions and restraint in "hot spots" -- to make such destruction impossible. We will not be able to go far beyond this in only twenty years, but it is not necessary for us to resolve all our conflicts in order to keep them from leading to a war that devastates the planet. We need not trust them to reach agreements, as long as we can inspect their country.

FUTURE 3

Although the Soviets have a different social system from ours, and we may not like each other, we both have a practical interest in jointly working to solve a growing number of common problems. The Soviets, under Mikhail Gorbachev, now appear to understand and accept this. While we may not trust each other now, a strategy of long-term cooperation could build enough trust for both sides to reduce the nuclear threat by the year 2010.

FUTURE 4

It doesn't matter if we trust the Soviets or not: what counts is that they can't attack us -- which we can assure by maintaining a strong defense of our own homeland and by deterring any nuclear attack (as we have for some time). Whatever relationship we have with them is not important to our security. Whether Gorbachev changes things or fails does not much concern us.

Our Greatest Threat

In a complex world where absolute security is impossible, U.S. policymakers must determine where the greatest threats to our security lie and how to set foreign policy priorities to alleviate these threats. Advocates of the four Futures have sharply diverging perspectives on what poses the greatest threat to U.S. security; their typical views are summarized below.

The issue: What is the greatest threat the U.S. faces today?

FUTURE 1

Our greatest danger stems from Soviet aggression: the use of intimidation -- including the threat (or even the reality) of a nuclear attack against us or our allies -- and/or the invasion of other countries. Over the long run the Soviets will want to keep expanding their power all around the world.

FUTURE 2

Our greatest danger is global nuclear war, probably beginning accidentally or when a crisis spirals out of control. Neither side would purposefully launch an offensive nuclear strike -- unless it believed that war was inevitable. The huge arsenals on both sides may inflame fears to the brink of crisis.

FUTURE 3

Our greatest danger is the tremendous hostility and fear between the two superpowers. Their terrible relationship impedes cooperation on crucial common problems, diverts resources to the arms race, and could spark a nuclear war.

FUTURE 4

Our greatest danger is being militarily overextended throughout the world. It is bound to weaken us economically, and is all too likely to drag the U.S. into some other country's war, perhaps leading even to nuclear war.

Arms Control

The U.S. and USSR have been discussing ways of limiting and reducing nuclear weapons since just after World War II, before the Soviets had their own nuclear arsenal. The sides have signed several agreements (such as the 1963 limited test ban treaty, the 1972 ABM treaty [see glossary], and the 1987 INF treaty) to limit nuclear weapons on both sides and to reduce the risk of war. Yet the arms race continues, as each side possesses over 12,000 long-range nuclear warheads and many short-range ones. What, if anything, can arms control accomplish -- and is it in the best interest of the United States?

The issue: What should be our attitude toward arms control?

FUTURE 1

Arms control is a bad idea except where it helps control or reduce Soviet weapons. For the U.S. it weakens our commitment to build important weapons systems (which are treated as "bargaining chips" rather than vital guarantors of our security); meanwhile, the Soviets exploit loopholes -- or cheat outright -- to develop and build whatever systems they want. The Soviets simply can't be trusted to keep their agreements.

FUTURE 2

Arms control is a central priority: we need not and should not wait on any great change in U.S.-Soviet relations to begin reducing the risk of a cataclysmic nuclear war. We should push for weapons cuts so deep that it would be physically impossible to destroy the world with the few remaining weapons -- with verification measures (such as on-site inspections) that reassure both sides that the other cannot cheat. We also should reach agreements with the Soviets to prevent "hot spots" from exploding into global war.

FUTURE 3

Arms control is a worthy goal, but negotiations cannot go far in an atmosphere of fear and mistrust. Building trust and reducing fear should be a higher priority than focusing on an issue that reinforces the fear on both sides. When both sides trust each other more and perceive each other as less of a threat, real progress in arms reductions will finally become possible.

FUTURE FOUR

Arms control is not terribly important. If it can be readily done, we should negotiate with the Soviets to reduce their number of offensive weapons (subject to strict verification), which would allow us to reduce the number we need to deter a Soviet attack. But if we cannot reach such agreements, we can still deter the Soviets relatively easily.

Our Allies

Since World War II, the United States has provided substantial military aid to allies around the globe in what has come to be a series of regional alliances intended to deter Soviet aggression. In Western Europe, the U.S. currently maintains over 300,000 troops to help defend our NATO allies [see glossary]; it has stationed other forces around the world to intervene if Soviet or Soviet-allied forces attack such U.S. allies as South Korea, the Philippines, or Pakistan. Advocates of the various Futures disagree on how important these military commitments are and how they should change by 2010.

The issue: Should we keep our troops around the world to help defend our allies against the Soviets?

FUTURE 1

We should maintain troops in Western Europe, South Korea, and elsewhere as long as there is a Soviet threat, for ultimately any threat to our allies is a threat to us. Indeed, we should try to strengthen our overseas alliances, not to retreat from them: they are our first defense against Soviet aggression. Moreover, we have a moral obligation to help preserve the freedom of these countries.

FUTURE 2

Our troops in Europe and Asia should remain for now, in order to deter possible aggression. But we should negotiate with the Soviets to reduce both nuclear and conventional forces (including troops, tanks, planes, artillery, and other weapons) in these regions and elsewhere, in order to reduce the risk of a military confrontation that could lead to war.

FUTURE 3

We should maintain our alliances for the time being, but we should also realize that our allies would benefit most from an end to the "Cold War" that continually threatens their survival. As we build trust with the Soviet Union, military alliances on both sides will become steadily less important.

FUTURE 4

We should gradually remove all of our troops from Western Europe and Asia and withdraw all military commitments except to our neighbors, Canada and Mexico. Our allies have the resources to defend themselves against the Soviets -- or, if they prefer, to make peace with them. Their choice will have little effect on our security.

Eastern Europe

After World War II, the Soviet Union established dominance over many of the countries of Eastern Europe, which were eventually compelled to join the pro-Soviet alliance known as the Warsaw Pact. The USSR has intervened in several of these countries -- most recently Poland in 1982 -- to suppress challenges to communist authorities. U.S. policy has been to encouraged Warsaw Pact countries to increase their independence from Moscow by selectively offering preferential trade terms and financial aid to them. In 1982, the U.S. and its allies criticized the crackdown on the Solidarity movement in Poland but took no concrete measures to punish the Soviet or Polish governments, fearful of imposing hardships on the Polish people, and on Western banks which had made loans to Poland. Typical views from the standpoints of the four Futures are given below; as usual, there is room for disagreement among the supporters of each Future.

The issue: What policies should the U.S. pursue toward these countries in the 1990s?

FUTURE 1

It is foolish to try to accommodate these governments which, despite minor disagreements, consistently follow the Soviet Union's lead while oppressing their own citizens. We should pressure these countries to abandon communism and democratize, even if it means supporting popular uprisings against their governments. We should make tangible steps toward democratization a prerequisite for any economic concessions, and be willing to impose new sanctions if there are future crackdowns. Above all, we should never tacitly support communist governments against democratic movements: totalitarian government is never in the best interests of the people who suffer under it.

FUTURE 2

We should encourage the governments of Eastern Europe to become more democratic and independent from the Soviet Union, using our economic leverage to provide both "carrots" and "sticks ." But we should agree with the Soviets to act carefully here: Eastern Europe is a prime example of a "hot spot" in which a crisis might escalate to all-out war. While certain economic restrictions and sanctions might be appropriate, we must never act in a way which is likely to provoke a desperate response by the Soviets or their allies.

FUTURE 3

We should work to improve our relations with the East European countries by increasing trade (and other interactions) with them and by cooperating more with them on common problems. We should be careful and not do anything that would harm our relationship with the Soviets -- say, by seeming to turn the East Europeans against the USSR. We should encourage democratic change in these countries primarily by example, not by punitive measures which will only strengthen the resolve of hard-liners in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

FUTURE 4

Naturally we hope that Eastern Europe will become more democratic and independent in time, but it is up to them to make these changes, not us. Neither economic sanctions nor preferential trade policies are likely to have much impact on democratization in these countries. We should trade more with these countries if it will help our economy; no other reason is necessary or appropriate.

Superpower Competition in Third World Countries

The "Third World" is a name given to the countries of South America, Africa, and most of Asia. Many of these countries are very poor, and their governments are often less stable than those of the superpowers and their major allies. The U.S. and USSR have been competing for influence in these countries for decades. Many Americans believe that the Soviets gained the upper hand in the 1970s by acquiring influence in Ethiopia, Angola, South Yemen, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and other countries while the U.S. was relatively passive in the wake of the Vietnam War. Central America (especially Nicaragua) and the Persian Gulf are two regions where the two superpowers are currently vying for influence.

The issue: Should we send guns and money to rebels fighting pro-Soviet governments in the Third World?

FUTURE 1

For the Soviets, the entire world is a battlefield whether we like to think this way or not. We must recognize this fact and take up our side of the struggle for global predominance. Therefore, we should give military and financial aid to rebels fighting pro-Soviet governments, such as Nicaragua and Angola. We should also give aid to other anti-communist governments, even if they're not democratic: a conservative dictatorship is less dangerous to everybody than a radical Soviet ally. [Not all Future 1 advocates endorse aid to non-democratic forces.]

FUTURE 2

Our rivalry with the Soviets will continue, but we must be careful not to let it drag us into a global nuclear war. We should give guns and money to rebels fighting pro-Soviet governments -- but only where there is little risk of a direct superpower confrontation that could lead to world war. We should agree with the Soviets on ways of avoiding conflict in "hot spots" like the Middle East, Europe, and Korea.

FUTURE 3

We and the Soviets should rapidly wind down our ongoing competition for allies and influence; the mistrust and conflict it creates between the two countries outweighs any of the benefits. We should reach compromises with the Soviets where the two sides' policies have been in conflict. When it is in our economic self-interest, we should be willing to do business with communist countries like Cuba and Nicaragua.

FUTURE 4

We should stop giving guns and money to Third World countries and guerrilla movements: whether they succeed or fail has little to do with our own security, and we cannot afford to defend freedom everywhere in the world. Too often U.S. intervention in the Third World has led to our support of brutal dictatorships, or worse, has needlessly cost us American lives, funds, and prestige in an elusive quest for security. We can and should leave Cuba and Nicaragua alone, unless they threaten the U.S. in some way.

Human Rights in the Soviet Union

Many Americans condemn the Soviet Union for not allowing its citizens the same range of freedoms Americans enjoy and for not having a multi-party system with a democratically elected leader. Supporters of each of the four Futures agree that human rights are a central value, and that some Soviet policies clearly infringe on those rights. But advocates of the various Futures disagree on how the U.S. should handle the issue of Soviet human rights violations.

The issue: How should we pressure the Soviet Union into allowing their people more democracy and freedoms (such as freedom of speech)?

FUTURE 1

The Soviet human rights record is one of the most important issues in U.S.-Soviet relations. We should speak forthrightly in opposition to Soviet human rights abuses, and we should refuse to make other kinds of agreements with the Soviets (if they involve concessions on our part) until they fully reform their tyrannical policies toward their own citizens and citizens of Eastern Europe.

FUTURE 2

Human rights are a very important issue. We should press the Soviets on human rights -- but not let the issue get in the way of reducing the nuclear threat. Nuclear reductions on both sides are in our own best interest. Freedom from the fear of nuclear war is also a human right.

FUTURE 3

Criticism of Soviet human rights policies can do little, by itself, to change those policies for the better. But improving relations with the U.S. would give the Soviets a growing stake in improving human rights and increase U.S. leverage with the Soviets. In addition, the Soviets' increased contact with our culture would expose them to the practical advantages of greater freedom and democracy.

FUTURE 4

We should denounce Soviet human rights violations as an affront to our principles, but take no other steps. It is not in our power to coerce the Soviets into liberalizing reforms. However, our human rights policy would be principled and consistent because we would not be allied to dictators overseas.

Global Problems

Some serious problems plague the world, problems that not only the superpowers but all of planet Earth must face in the coming decades. The entire planet is threatened by pollution, the greenhouse effect, and the destruction of the ozone layer. Earth's fragile environment is also endangered by acid rain, toxic wastes, and deforestation. AIDS is spreading throughout the world at a frightening pace, and overpopulation threatens to make resources scarce for everyone. These global problems require the world's attention.

The issue: How should we handle global problems such as pollution, vis-a-vis the Soviets?

FUTURE 1

The democracies of the West have always been quick to respond to new dangers, while communist countries have always acted more slowly, if at all. Eastern Europe remains one of the most heavily polluted parts of the world. And in 1986, when the Soviet nuclear power plant at Chernobyl exploded and polluted Europe with radioactivity, it was the West that spread the word about the accident, not the Soviets. Since the Soviets' greatest concern today is improving their weak economy, they will refuse to spend the big money it takes to improve our environment. But after we have gained the upper hand, we can make sure the Soviets will do their part to protect the environment. When we have to work closely with them on these problems, we will be sure not to pass on any knowledge of our advanced technology that could help their economy or that they could use against us.

FUTURE 2

Just as we must work together to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, we must also eliminate other threats to our survival, such as AIDS and pollution. When necessary, we and the Soviets, along with other countries, will cooperate to fight these problems. But we will not forget that we and the Soviets remain rivals. We will always be cautious about working with them, knowing that they are hungry for any of our advanced technology that would help make them more powerful in the world.

FUTURE 3

Cooperation between the superpowers will solve global problems the fastest, because Soviet and American scientists and engineers can pool their knowledge of advanced technology to fight these problems together. We should design such cooperative measures to help build our new cooperative relationship, thus maximizing the political meaning of the ventures. As the two superpowers begin to trust each other more, they will work even more closely together, and this will speed up progress on solving global problems. In an atmosphere of trust, the Soviets will not misuse the advanced technology we give them against us.

FUTURE 4

As America turns to focus its attention on problems at home, it will also be able to devote more time and energy to solving global problems, wherever these problems affect America as well as the rest of the world. We will cooperate with other countries as much as necessary to solve these global problems. But we will be careful about giving away our most advanced technological secrets to our economic rivals such as Japan, West Germany, and the Soviet Union.

“Star Wars”

In 1983, President Reagan proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a plan to develop weapons that would help protect the United States from nuclear attack by shooting down incoming ballistic missiles in flight. SDI, quickly dubbed “Star Wars” by its critics, has been controversial on two levels. First, experts are divided on whether an effective and affordable defense is technically feasible; most believe that a limited SDI system is possible, but (in the foreseeable future) a truly comprehensive defense against attack is not. The more fundamental debate is over whether a defense system (on whatever scale) is desirable.

The issue: Should we build a “Star Wars” (SDI) defense system to help shoot down enemy missiles?

FUTURE 1

We cannot trust the Soviets not to launch a nuclear attack against us, nor can we trust them to disarm completely. The best alternative is to defend ourselves as best as possible against nuclear attack, while moving toward decisive military superiority in order to discourage Soviet aggression. We should deploy at least limited defenses as soon as possible, and add more advanded technologies to the defense system as soon as they are developed. Even if the cost of the system is high, our survival is worth the price. Moreover, a “Star Wars” race can broaden our technological lead and increase the stress on the Soviet economy.

FUTURE 2

The best defense against nuclear attack is for both sides to have only as many nuclear weapons as they need to remain secure. Star Wars could be extremely expensive, and the Soviets might see it as an offensive threat, which would be dangerous for us. Besides, most SDI components (especially those based in space) would violate the 1972 ABM treaty and thus undermine or even wreck future arms control efforts. At best, we should use SDI as a “bargaining chip” in arms control negotiations to get an effective agreement, as the Soviets have promised.

FUTURE 3

Technical fixes such as SDI cannot, in the long run, protect us against nuclear attack: the Soviets will only develop their own technology to overcome the defenses, beginning a new and staggeringly expensive round of the arms race. The best defense against attack is an overall reduction in hostility, which lessens the perceived *need* for the arms race. However, if they wanted to, the superpowers could build SDI together to protect them both from an accidental launching or from third parties.

FUTURE 4

We cannot trust the Soviets not to launch a nuclear attack against us, nor can we trust them to completely disarm. The only alternative is to develop a defense against nuclear attack as soon as possible, assuming it is feasible and we can accept the expense. [This stance is very similar to Future 1, except that the final argument under Future 1 is unimportant here.]

Joint Manned Mission to Mars

In recent years, the U.S. space program has lagged behind that of the Soviets in many areas, especially in sending people into space for extended periods. But much of our technology is superior to the Soviets'. Some people suggest that the two countries should pool their resources and begin a joint manned mission to Mars: a project that would provide important scientific knowledge and could serve as a stepping stone to further progress in the exploration of space.

The issue: Should we collaborate with the Soviets on a joint manned mission to Mars?

FUTURE 1

A joint mission to Mars is a bad idea, for at least three reasons. First, by its very nature it involves sharing with the Soviets technology that they don't yet have -- and which they can then develop militarily and use against us. Second, it would probably allow the Soviets golden opportunities for spying on other aspects of our technology, and gaining an even bigger edge. Finally, it would create an illusion of cooperation and friendship between the superpowers while the real conflict continued and this illusion would weaken the American public's willingness to do what we have to do to oppose the USSR.

FUTURE 2

We should decide on a Mars mission on its own merits: is it worth the money and resources it will take to get there? If it is, then there is little reason not to cooperate with the Soviets, if both sides have something valuable to contribute to the mission. But of course the Mars mission is by no means a substitute for deep cuts in nuclear arms: by itself it does nothing to reduce the nuclear threat we now face.

FUTURE 3

A joint mission to Mars may be a promising way of promoting real cooperation among the superpowers. By posing so many technical and logistical problems, it would force the two countries to work closely together on a vast scale for decades, thereby forging strong new personal and institutional ties. Further, many stepping stones along the way would be televised, thus changing each country's feeling about the other. This mission, and other projects like it, collectively can contribute to a new, more constructive relationship between the U.S. and USSR.

FUTURE 4

The first question to ask is, "Why any mission to Mars?" Is it really preferable to spend those billions of dollars on the exploration of an apparently dead planet than on the needs of the American people? If there is some reason for such a mission -- more important than America's own needs -- then cooperation with the Soviets may be appropriate if it reduces our own costs, and for no other reason. Moreover, we should be careful not to share any technology that might compromise American security.

Nuclear Testing (honors)

Both superpowers regularly develop new nuclear warheads, which are tested by exploding them. Since the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the U.S. and USSR have confined these tests to special underground caverns. Some people support a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) which would prohibit such tests altogether, on the grounds that they are unnecessary and can only lead to the development of more dangerous weapons. The Soviet Union announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing in February 1985 and invited the U.S. to follow suit, but the U.S. continued its tests, arguing that a comprehensive test ban was contrary to the national interest. (The Soviets abandoned the moratorium in February 1987.)

The issue: Should the U.S. continue nuclear testing?

FUTURE 1

Yes, the U.S. should continue its testing. The Soviets support a CTB because their currently deployed warheads are newer and more dangerous than ours and they want to stop our development, and because continued testing will help us to develop a "Star Wars" system. Those are good reasons for us *not* to support a test ban. Finally, we can't be sure the Soviets won't cheat (despite the claims of Future 2 supporters).

FUTURE 2

No. A CTB is an excellent idea. A ban or limitation on new testing would not immediately make the U.S. safer, but it would help tremendously to prevent new developments on both sides that might destabilize the nuclear balance. It would save money. U.S. and Soviet warheads are roughly equal in capability at present, and we could develop a non-nuclear "Star Wars" system if we want. We can now reliably detect even very small nuclear explosions, so a CTB would be verifiable. (See also the proliferation argument under Future 3.)

FUTURE 3

A CTB, like any other nuclear treaty, is difficult to negotiate in the absence of trust. In the long run, however, there is an important reason for both the U.S. and USSR to sign a CTB agreement; many signatories of the international Non-Proliferation Treaty have said that they may abandon that treaty unless the superpowers move toward disarmament, starting with a CTB. Thus a CTB might be an important step toward dealing with the common problem of nuclear proliferation. But failure to agree on a CTB should not impede us from building trust in other ways.

FUTURE 4

We should judge a CTB according to its bottom line: security. Inasmuch as it saves money, it's good, but the basic issue is this: Does it do more to help our defensive posture, by preventing the Soviets from developing more sophisticated and threatening weapons, or does it impede our defenses by limiting the development of a "Star Wars" system? The proliferation argument is less important; if we have an effective missile defense, proliferation is not as threatening as it may seem now.

The START Talks (honors)

Since 1982, with some interruptions, the U.S. and USSR have been engaged in START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) negotiations intended to make reductions in the number of strategic (long-range) nuclear weapons on both sides. At the 1986 Reykjavik summit, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed in principle on a formula that would reduce numbers of strategic weapons on both sides by about 50%, leaving each side with 6,000 weapons on a maximum of 1,600 launchers. While some additional progress has been made since then, the two sides disagree on whether a START treaty should be linked to a *narrow interpretation* of the ABM treaty which would prevent a space-based "Star Wars" system (the U.S. says it should not), which weapons should be cut, and other issues.

The issue: What should our attitude be toward the START talks?

FUTURE 1

It is simply wrong to think that reducing numbers of nuclear weapons necessarily makes us safer. The Soviets will continue to push for U.S. concessions that actually weaken our deterrent -- starting with their effort to block progress on the vital SDI program. It is the Soviet "heavy" land-based missiles that pose by far the greatest offensive threat. We should not make concessions on these issues for the sake of "negotiability"; we cannot compromise on our security.

FUTURE 2

The 50% formula provides the basis for a START agreement that reduces not just the numbers of nuclear weapons on both sides but the actual risk of war. Of course, we should insist on equitable compromises and strict verification measures, but we should also be willing to compromise on SDI ourselves. A well-crafted START treaty will reduce the most threatening missiles on both sides and contribute far more to our security than a nuclear build-up and/or "Star Wars" system possibly can.

FUTURE 3

Deep nuclear reductions along the lines of the 50% formula are valuable in principle. However, the current stalemate over the SDI issue and many others illustrates the difficulty of reaching a viable agreement when each side suspects the other of trickery and is accordingly reluctant to compromise. We should proceed to build trust by cooperating on common problems for which neither power is responsible; that trust will eventually make negotiations like the START talks much easier and more fruitful.

FUTURE 4

We should not see the START talks as a top priority, and we should not trade away "Star Wars" unless we are quite certain that we have gotten the better end of the deal. If we can achieve reductions in Soviet offensive weapons and thus make it easier to deter a Soviet attack, we should do so. It would be better to get Soviet agreement to SDI systems so that we can defend ourselves.

The Krasnoyarsk Radar (honors)

For some years, the Soviet Union has been constructing a large "phased-array" radar near the town of Krasnoyarsk. The U.S. has argued that the radar is capable of tracking incoming missiles and is therefore in violation of the ABM treaty [see glossary]. The Soviets, however, claim that the radar is intended for tracking satellites in orbit. The radar station was a major point of contention at past arms negotiations, but lately the Soviets have shifted their position. In a recent speech, Gorbachev proposed turning the Krasnoyarsk radar station into an "international cooperation center for the utilization of space for peaceful purposes." The U.S. has rejected this idea. Below are typical responses from advocates of each of the Futures:

The issue: How should we respond to the Krasnoyarsk radar?

FUTURE 1

Despite Soviet propaganda claims to the contrary, the Krasnoyarsk radar is clearly designed to protect the Soviet Union from missiles, in conjunction with other systems they have built or are building now. This is an explicit violation of the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty that they signed. If the Soviets become invulnerable to nuclear attack, we will be at their mercy, for we will not be able to retaliate if they attack us. We should insist that the Soviets dismantle the radar, in accordance with the ABM treaty; if they refuse, we should declare the ABM treaty dead and build our own defenses as soon as possible.

FUTURE 2

The evidence clearly points against the Soviet claim that the Krasnoyarsk radar is only intended to track satellites. The radar could be used merely to provide early warning against incoming missiles, and hypothetically it could also be used as part of a Soviet missile defense system. A U.S. congressional visit to the site concluded it is the former, but if the latter is the case, as the Pentagon maintains, it is in violation of the ABM treaty, and the Soviets should halt construction as they have offered to do. Above all, both sides should maintain the ABM treaty.

FUTURE 3

The controversy over whether the radar is part of a Soviet missile defense system is another example of the enormous distrust both sides harbor against each other. Resolving this conflict will not, by itself, significantly improve relations. What will improve relations is greater trust. Both sides should encourage trust by inviting further official delegations to visit each other's controversial radar sites (the Soviets have cited a U.S. site in Greenland as being also a potential ABM treaty violation), as well as by cooperating in many other areas.

FUTURE 4

It may not matter much to us whether the radar was built for space tracking, early warning, or Soviet missile defense. The actions of the Soviet military do not concern us, as long as they do not threaten North America. But if a Soviet missile defense system threatened to eliminate our ability to retaliate after a Soviet nuclear attack on the U.S., then we would clearly need to find a way of overcoming those defenses or of matching them with a defense of our own.

APPENDIX D: NOTES ON THE FUTURES AND U.S. HISTORY

This Appendix describes eight events in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations, and interprets them from the perspectives of the four Futures. Each event here has been covered in the student timeline on pages 14-15 of the student text.

132 1949: NATO Military Alliance Forms

133 1961: The Building of the Berlin Wall

134 1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis

135 1964-1973: U.S. Troops Fight in the Vietnam War

136 1972: U.S. and China Work to Improve Their Relationship

137 1972: U.S. and Soviet leaders Agree to "Détente"

138 1979: Soviet Troops Invade Afghanistan

139 1987: Superpowers Sign the INF Treaty

1949: NATO Military Alliance Forms

After World War II, democratic countries in Europe were fearful of Soviet aggression. The Soviets did not work with Western European countries to help rebuild all of wartorn Europe after the war but instead took control of Eastern European countries. President Truman decided to take a firm stance against the Soviets and directed United States resources towards rebuilding Western Europe, under the Marshall plan, and making the democratic countries strong so that communism could not spread further in Europe. In 1949 a group of Western nations, including the United States, formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO. This treaty states that an attack on any one of the NATO nations would be considered an attack on all of them. In 1955, the Soviet Union and its allies formed a similar alliance, the Warsaw Pact. Here's how supporters of the four Futures might interpret the historical impact of NATO's creation:

FUTURE 1

The forming of NATO was necessary and highly desirable. It prevented the Soviets from trying to take over Western Europe. The U.S. should take the lead in strongly supporting NATO.

FUTURE 2

Soviet imperialism in Eastern Europe and a highly offensive Soviet military posture have made Europe a "hot spot." The forming of NATO successfully prevented the Soviets from trying to take over Western Europe. However, it also contributed to an arms race between the two alliances. The U.S. should support NATO, but try to eliminate the nuclear threat in Europe.

FUTURE 3

The forming of NATO and the Warsaw Pact showed how quickly the trust between the two sides faded after they had stopped working together to defeat Germany in 1945. Over the years the confrontation of their opposing armies have kept mistrust alive. We should still support NATO, but cooperate with Warsaw Pact countries to reduce mistrust.

FUTURE 4

The forming of NATO successfully prevented the Soviets from trying to take over Western Europe. Although the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe never threatened the United States, U.S. assistance was necessary to get the wartorn Western democracies of Europe back on their feet. But this has been accomplished fully, and Western Europe can readily defend itself. In this new situation, the U.S. can and should withdraw from NATO.

1961: The Building of the Berlin Wall

After World War II, the German city of Berlin was divided into two zones. One side became part of the new democratic country of West Germany, which had been set up by the United States, Britain and France. The other side became part of East Germany, a communist country set up by the Soviets. The Soviets pressured the West to give up West Berlin, located in the heart of East Germany, but the West refused. The presence of a democratic city in the middle of their communist country concerned East Germany, because many East Germans defected to the West by escaping into West Berlin. Between 1949 and 1961, one-sixth of the East German population -- almost three million people -- fled from their communist country by crossing the open frontier from East to West Berlin. Then on August 13, 1961, the East German regime suddenly erected a barbed-wire, heavily guarded wall between East and West Berlin. The wall prevented friends, relatives and neighbors from seeing each other, and also prevented many East Germans from defecting to the West. Since the wall (now made of solid concrete) was built, only around 5,000 East Germans have successfully scaled the wall or tunneled beneath it. At least 73 people are known to have been killed trying to escape over the Berlin Wall.

FUTURE 1

The building of the Berlin Wall showed vividly how the Soviets are the enemies of freedom. We should not make peace with the Soviet government until it tears down the Wall and allows East Germans to go freely to West Berlin if they wish.

FUTURE 2

The building of the Berlin Wall vividly reminded us that the Soviets have a harsh and oppressive government. The Cold War will inevitably continue as long as the Berlin Wall stands. Nonetheless, we should try even harder together to eliminate the nuclear threat.

FUTURE 3

The building of the Berlin Wall shows how deeply the Cold War has divided Europe. As relations between the two sides improve, the mutual fear and uncertainty between them will gradually fade, and eventually the East Germans will have no reason not to tear down the Berlin Wall.

FUTURE 4

The building of the Berlin Wall showed that the Soviets are the enemies of freedom. It is further proof that we should defend North America against a possible Soviet attack. We should criticize the Soviets and their allies for building the wall and keeping it up, but we do not need to do anything else.

1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis

In 1959, Fidel Castro and his followers overthrew a right-wing dictatorship in Cuba. The United States at first welcomed Castro's rise to power as a victory for democracy. But soon Castro began to rule Cuba like a dictator himself, never holding the elections he had promised and lashing out at "Yankees." Castro turned to the Soviet Union for military and economic support. Tension between the United States and the Soviets was already high when American aerial photographs revealed in October 1962 that the Soviets were constructing missile launch pads in Cuba, which is only 90 miles south of Florida. The missiles could easily reach major U.S. cities such as New York and Washington. President Kennedy set up a blockade preventing Soviet ships from bringing more offensive weapons to Cuba. The tension increased, and for days a nuclear war seemed very possible. But Kennedy remained firm and Khrushchev finally ordered the Soviet ships to turn back and the bases to be dismantled. The superpowers have never come so close to nuclear war before or since that time. Below are interpretations of the Cuban Missile Crisis that advocates of each Future might express:

FUTURE 1

The Cuban Missile Crisis showed that when the U.S. hangs tough, the Soviets will back down. Cuba remains a menace. We should try to weaken, and if the opportunity arises, perhaps even overthrow its pro-Soviet government, as well as other pro-Soviet governments in the Third World.

FUTURE 2

The Cuban Missile Crisis demonstrated how dangerously close the superpowers could come to a nuclear war over a third country. The superpowers simply must cooperate to prevent dangerous crises that can spiral quickly into a nuclear confrontation. Although we should compete for influence in the Third World, we should make sure this competition doesn't get out of hand like it did in Cuba.

FUTURE 3

The Cuban Missile Crisis revealed how the superpowers' competitive relationship can destroy the world. We must change the relationship fundamentally, so neither side will ever be tempted to get into such dangerous situations. It also would be helpful to trade with Cuba instead of isolating it, as we do now.

FUTURE 4

Although dangerous, our face-off with the Soviets was necessary since it showed them that they cannot get away with threatening North America. The Soviets have learned this lesson, and have not tried a similar offensive since.

1964-1973: U.S. Troops Fight in the Vietnam War

In 1965, the United States began sending troops to the Asian country of South Vietnam to support that country's war against communist North Vietnam, which was supported by the Soviet Union and China. President Johnson and his supporters were afraid that if Vietnam fell to the communists, neighboring nations in Southeast Asia would also fall. This belief was called the "domino theory." Although there were a half million U.S. troops in Vietnam by 1968, there was still no end to the fighting in sight, and the war grew very unpopular at home. At this point over 27,000 American soldiers had died in Vietnam, and the war was costing taxpayers an estimated $25 billion a year. Anti-war protesters were staging huge and often violent demonstrations in the United States. In 1969 the U.S. began withdrawing its troops. The last ones left in 1973. North Vietnam took over South Vietnam in 1975, and Vietnam today is still a Soviet ally. Here are typical interpretations of the Vietnam War from the standpoint of each Future:

FUTURE 1

Our involvement in Vietnam was a brave attempt to save our ally, South Vietnam, from communism. If we had fought better, harder, and longer, we might have won the war and Vietnam would be a free country today. Vietnam, a Soviet ally, remains an enemy. The U.S. should try to weaken or even to overthrow its pro-Soviet government.

FUTURE 2

Our involvement in Vietnam was a brave attempt to preserve democracy. But our defeat in Vietnam shows that although we must fight the spread of communism in the Third World, we must be more careful how we go about it. The U.S. might try to weaken or even to overthrow Vietnam's pro-Soviet government, as long as there is little risk of a conflict there turning into a nuclear war.

FUTURE 3

Our involvement in Vietnam demonstrated that fighting communism everywhere doesn't make the world safer and can only increase tensions between the superpowers. Instead of attacking them, the U.S. should do business with Soviet allies like Vietnam.

FUTURE 4

The U.S. involvement in Vietnam showed how stupid, expensive, and dangerous it is for the U.S. to get involved in conflicts in faraway countries. Vietnam, a tiny country on the other side of the globe, could never have threatened the United States and it doesn't threaten us today.

1972: U.S. and China Work to Improve Their Relationship

In 1949, the Unites States was shocked when China, the world's most populous country, was taken over by Chinese communists. For thirty years, the United States refused to recognize "Red China." When Richard Nixon, a strong anti-communist, was elected president in 1968, few Americans expected him to improve U.S. relations with the communist People's Republic of China. But Nixon believed that the rivalry between China and the Soviet Union gave the United States an opportunity to make diplomatic gains. In a dramatic move in 1972, Nixon visited China. He was the first U.S. president ever to do so. He was cordially received by China's leader, Mao Zedong. The two leaders agreed that while their countries had great differences, they also had common interests. Shortly afterward, China was admitted to the United Nations and in 1979, the United States and China established full diplomatic relations. Although the recent violent repression of China's pro-democracy movement has chilled relations, it seems clear that both the U.S. and China wish to continue their working relationship.

FUTURE 1

Because Soviet relations with China have always been considerably tense, improving our relations with China gave us an edge in our competition with the Soviets. In order to gain the upper hand over the Soviets, we may have to work together with other countries, even communist countries like China. The U.S. should persuade China to help us in trying to weaken the Soviet Union.

FUTURE 2

Because Soviet relations with China have always been considerably tense, improving our relations with China gave us an edge in our competition with the Soviets. As we and the Soviets destroy most of our nuclear weapons, we should insist that China do the same.

FUTURE 3

If the U.S. was able to improve its relations with communist China, then it can certainly improve its relations with the Soviet Union. Like the U.S. and China, the superpowers can build trust by cooperating on common interests. In time, this will reduce the threat of nuclear war just as now we no longer fear war with China.

FUTURE 4

Improving our relations with China was a good idea, but it didn't really reduce the risk of war very much. China never threatened North America to begin with. However, increasing trade with China has helped the U.S. economy.

1972: U.S. and Soviet Leaders Agree to "Détente"

Soon after his trip to China, President Nixon met with the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow. Nixon was the first president to visit the Soviet Union since World War II. The Soviets were worried about the new relations between the United States and China, so they welcomed Nixon's visit. Brezhnev and Nixon signed arms control agreements, based on negotiations the two countries had been working on since 1969. The two leaders agreed to follow a policy of reducing tensions between the superpowers, called "détente." Most Americans, eager to lessen the risk of nuclear war, approved of détente. However, the agreements did not stop the arms race or end superpower competition in the Third World. Tensions between the two countries grew again. Support for détente declined, and ended completely when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The following interpretations of the détente policy are typical of each Future's supporters:

FUTURE 1

The détente policy demonstrated vividly how foolish it is for the U.S. to make agreements with the Soviet Union. Naturally, détente failed. We should have expected nothing else. This fact was all too clear when the Soviets continued to build more nuclear weapons and then finally invaded Afghanistan seven years later.

FUTURE 2

The détente policy was a failure because the two sides expected too much. They thought arms control agreements would lead to better relations. Both sides have learned from this mistake. Now we know that arms control agreements will not improve our relations, but they will make the world safer from nuclear war.

FUTURE 3

The détente policy and its failure illustrated that it is impossible to stop the arms race without ending superpower competition altogether. Rivalry and mistrust will always doom halfway measures; only a complete turnaround in relations will work.

FUTURE 4

The détente policy and its failure showed that we should not expect the Soviets to act predictably, or the way we want them to. Whether the Soviets are peaceful or warlike doesn't concern us as long as North America is protected.

1979: Soviet Troops Invade Afghanistan

In 1978, leftist factions in Afghanistan united to overthrow the existing monarchy, but the new Marxist government was not popular for long. In the widespread unrest that followed, the U.S. ambassador was murdered by Afghan terrorists, and the United States cut off its military aid to the Afghan government. The government turned to its long-time friend and neighbor, the Soviet Union, for protection from its unhappy citizens. In 1979, after the Soviets spent almost one billion dollars on military aid, the Soviet army invaded the country, killed the Afghan prime minister, and appointed new officials. In the following years, the Soviets and the Soviet-backed Afghan army fought guerrilla forces that wanted to overthrow the communist government. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan was widely condemned, both internationally and at home. The United States condemned the invasion and supplied arms to the anti-Soviet rebels. In May 1988, the Soviet Union bowed to widespread pressure and agreed to withdraw its more than 100,000 troops from Afghanistan; this withdrawal was completed in mid-February 1989. However, the fighting between Afghan government forces and rebel factions continues. Here are some representative views from the Futures' advocates:

FUTURE 1

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is strong proof that the Soviets are aggressive and power-hungry, and will attack their neighbors whenever they think America is weak. Arming the Afghan freedom fighters was a good idea, since it forced the Soviets to withdraw.

FUTURE 2

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan reminded us that we cannot trust the Soviets. Arming the Afghan rebels was a good idea, since it led to the Soviet withdrawal. But no matter what the Soviets do in the Third World, we still need to work with them to eliminate the nuclear threat.

FUTURE 3

The Soviets withdrew in part because the occupation made it impossible to improve relations with the U.S. and China. This episode showed that the superpowers must compete much less in the Third World if they want to reduce the threat of nuclear war.

FUTURE 4

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a terrible thing, but it did not threaten the United States. The Soviets' presence in Afghanistan turned out to be as bad for them as getting involved in the Vietnam War was for us.

1987: Superpowers Sign INF Treaty

The 1987 INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) treaty eliminates all U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons with ranges between 300 and 3,400 miles. Under the agreement, the U.S. will destroy 859 missiles, and the USSR will destroy 1,941. This is the first agreement that reduces, rather than limits, numbers of nuclear weapons. It is also the first treaty with provisions for on-site inspections of missile sites and production facilities in both countries. Advocates of the various Futures tend to disagree on the value and relevance of the treaty. Below are some typical positions:

FUTURE 1

The removal of the Soviet medium-range missiles from Europe is good, but the removal of American missiles is bad. NATO needs nuclear weapons to compensate for the overwhelming Soviet advantage in conventional weapons in Europe, which has not disappeared. We should build up our nuclear and conventional forces in Europe using the latest technology, both to discourage Soviet attack or intimidation and to strain their economy as they try to keep up with us. [Some Future One supporters would embrace the INF treaty as a triumph of "peace through strength," but also would insist on a stronger defense of Western Europe.]

FUTURE 2

The INF treaty was an excellent first step that could and should lead to drastic reductions in all types of nuclear arms. The INF treaty showed that the Soviets are serious about arms control, and willing to accept effective verification measures -- even including on-site inspections on Soviet territory. We should also begin to negotiate for lower levels of conventional forces in Europe, but if these talks do not work we should be prepared to build up our own conventional forces to match the Soviets', so that we won't have to rely on threats of being the first to attach with nuclear weapons.

FUTURE 3

The INF treaty was a step in the right direction, but it took negotiators over six years of work to conclude the treaty, which cuts only 3% of the total nuclear arsenal. In the present climate of mistrust, it could take much longer to bring the number of nuclear weapons down to a level that would no longer threaten civilization. Improved relations will hasten negotiations, so our first priority must be to achieve a less hostile relationship.

FUTURE 4

Since the treaty affected only nuclear forces in Europe, it really had little effect on our security; perhaps it makes the outbreak of war in Europe less likely by reducing the Soviets' fears there. We should not expect this or any other treaty to decisively affect our security stance; our security is assured by focusing our resource on what we can and must defend -- our own continent -- not on Europe.

APPENDIX E: GLOSSARY

Glossary

ABM treaty: Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty. The United States and the Soviet Union signed this treaty as part of the SALT I agreement. The treaty limits construction by either superpower of defensive anti-ballistic missiles which are designed to shoot down incoming ballistic missiles.

acid rain: An environmental hazard that occurs when the heavy burning of fossil fuels, such as coal and oil, releases chemicals into the atmosphere that mix with rain clouds. The *acid rain* that results gradually destroys forests, poisons lakes and streams, and kills fish and other wildlife.

Afghanistan: A south Asian nation bordering the Soviet Union. In 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan and set up a pro-Soviet government. The U.S. has provided guns and money to Afghan rebel forces who have been trying to overthrow the government. In early 1989, the Soviets withdrew their troops from Afghanistan.

ballistic missile: A missile which, after being guided during take-off, travels unpowered, like a bullet.

capitalism: An economic system based on private ownership of business, industry and property. The U.S. and most of its allies are capitalist.

China: The People's Republic of China, the largest and most populous country in southeast Asia, with over one billion people. Although China has had a communist government since 1949, it is not an ally of the Soviet Union.

communism: A system in which a country's government controls most industry and business, and owns most property. The Soviet Union is governed by the Communist Party, which supports this system.

Contras: Anti-communist rebels who have been supported by the United States in their fight against the pro-Soviet government of *Nicaragua*.

conventional weapons: Weapons that do not involve nuclear explosions. Conventional weapons include tanks, guns, planes, and ships.

cruise missile: A missile that flies a roughly horizontal trajectory, like an airplane.

Cuban Missile Crisis: In October 1962, the U.S. discovered that the Soviets had secretly placed nuclear missiles in Cuba, an island only 90 miles off the Florida coast. President Kennedy demanded that the missiles be removed. For days, a nuclear war seemed quite possible, but Kennedy remained firm, and the Soviets removed the missiles.

deficit: The amount of money a government owes if it spends more money than it takes in during the year. In 1988, the U.S. government had a deficit of $155 billion.

deforestation: The cutting down of forests for timber, firewood, and grazing land. Soil erosion may result, which can destroy farmland and cause floods. By destroying plants (which consume carbon dioxide gas), *deforestation* helps to worsen the *greenhouse effect.*

democracy: A system in which the citizens of a country control their government by electing representatives and a chief executive. The United States and many of its allies are democracies.

détente ("day-TAHNT"): The policy that the superpowers followed in the 1970s to reduce tensions produced by the Cold War.

deterrence: Nuclear deterrence is a strategy in which one nation tries to prevent another nation from attacking by having enough nuclear weapons to destroy the other country. The threat to strike back with nuclear weapons deters the other country from attacking.

Eastern Bloc: The group of European countries that lies to the west of the Soviet Union. These nations -- Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria -- have been controlled by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, and are all *Warsaw Pact* members.

EEC - European Economic Community: An economic alliance of twelve West European nations -- Belgium, Britian, Denmark, France, West Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. The EEC's current goal is to eliminate all trade barriers between its member nations by 1992, thus creating the single largest consumer market in the world (320 million people).

glasnost ("GLAHS-nost"): A Russian word meaning "openness" or "publicity" which has become the name for some of the policies of the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. More freedom of speech and of the press, greater tolerance of criticism of the government, fewer restrictions on letting people leave the country, and greater acceptance of Western products and ideas are all part of glasnost.

"greenhouse effect": The gradual global warming of the earth's climate. Air pollution by cars, fires, and industry has generated excess carbon dioxide gas which traps the sun's rays like a greenhouse, gradually heating up the earth's atmosphere.

Grenada: A small Caribbean island nation. In 1983, after a pro-communist group had taken over the government, U.S. troops invaded the island and a democratic pro-U.S. government took control.

"hot spots": Areas of the world where tensions between the U.S. and Soviet Union are so high that there is a dangerous chance of a small crisis erupting into a global war. These areas include Europe, the *Middle East*, and *Korea*.

ICBM: Intercontinental Ballistic Missile. A land-based ballistic missile with sufficient range to travel from the United States to the Soviet Union, or visa-versa.

INF Treaty: The Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty, signed by the superpowers in December 1987, which eliminated 859 U.S. and 1,941 Soviet nuclear weapons from Europe.

Korea: A *"hot spot"* in East Asia. Since the Korean War (1950-53), Korea has been divided into South Korea (a U.S. ally) and communist North Korea. The U.S. has stationed 45,000 troops in South Korea.

Lebanon: A small wartorn country in the Middle East, between Israel and Syria.

Libya: A country in northern Africa, ruled by Colonel Mohammar Qaddaffi. In 1986, U.S. fighter planes bombed Tripoli, the Libyan capital, after the U.S. had accused Qaddaffi of supporting terrorist attacks on U.S. soldiers in Europe.

megaton: Equivalent to one million tons of TNT.

Middle East: A region including the countries of southwestern Asia and northeastern Africa. Egypt, Iran, Iraq, *Lebanon* and *Libya* are some of the countries in the Middle East.

MIRV: Multiple Independently-targetable Reentry Vehicle. Multiple warheads for missiles, allowing each warhead to be aimed at a separate target.

missile: A rocket that carries a bomb.

Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD): The principle that the United States and the Soviet Union each have the guaranteed capability to destroy the other in the event of a nuclear war, so that they are mutually deterred from launching a nuclear war.

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a military alliance formed in 1949 to defend Western Europe against the Soviet Union and its allies. NATO members include the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Norway, Spain and six other European nations.

neutral nations: Countries which are not officially allied with either the United States or the Soviet Union. Switzerland, Austria and India are all neutral nations.

Nicaragua: A Central American nation that has been led by the Sandinista government since 1979, which the Soviet Union supports and which the U.S. opposes.

nuclear energy: Energy released by the splitting of radioactive atoms such as uranium. In nuclear power plants, this powerful form of energy can be harnessed to make electricity. In nuclear weapons, this energy is released in a massive explosion.

nuclear freeze: A proposal, popular in the U.S. in the early 1980s, in which the United States and the Soviet Union would set or "freeze" the number of their nuclear weapons.

nuclear nations: Nations which are officially known to possess nuclear weapons: the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom, France and China.

nuclear weapons: The most powerful weapons ever made, invented by the U.S. in 1945. The splitting of radioactive atoms in an exploding nuclear weapon releases an enormous blast of energy that shatters buildings, starts fire over a large area, and showers an even larger area with radioactive particles, or "fallout." The U.S. and the Soviet Union have over 25,000 nuclear weapons each, enough to destroy the world many times over. The two sides keep their nuclear weapons in bomber airplanes, in missiles stored above and underground, and on submarines and ships at sea.

ozone layer: A layer of gases in the earth's atmosphere that shields us from the sun's harmful radiation. Chemicals such as those found in styrofoam containers damage the ozone layer.

perestroika ("pear-eh-STROY-ka"): A Russian word meaning "restructuring," which has become the name for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's plans to improve the Soviet economy.

Persian Gulf: A body of water in the Middle East, an area of the world considered a *"hot spot."* Countries around the Persian Gulf include Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

Russia: Commonly refers to the Soviet Union. Russia was a country in Eastern Europe and Asia, taken over in 1917 by communists who then renamed it the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union today covers a larger area than pre-Soviet Russia.

SALT: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks.

SLBM: Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile. A ballistic missile launched from a submarine.

Soviet Union: Also known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or the USSR, the Soviet Union was founded by communists in 1917 shortly after the Russian ruler, Tsar Nicholas II, was overthrown. After World War II, it became a "superpower" along with the United States. Stretching across eleven time zones, it is the largest country on earth, and has a population of 285,000,000.

spy satellites: Extremely powerful cameras placed in outer space by one nation to see what another nation is doing.

START: Strategic Arms Reduction Talks.

"Star Wars": Also known as the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (or SDI), a controversial plan proposed by President Reagan in 1983 to research ways of shooting down incoming enemy nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is under attack.

Strategic Air Command: That part of the U.S Air Force that includes *ICBMs*, strategic bombers, and their command and control.

strategic nuclear weapons: Nuclear weapons, based either at sea or on land, that can reach an enemy's homeland.

summit: An official meeting between the leaders of two or more countries.

superpowers: Refers to the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Third World: A name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. The United States and the Soviet Union have been competing for influence in these countries for decades. Most Third World countries are extremely poor.

Triad: A term referring to the deployment of United States (and Soviet) strategic nuclear weapons in three basing modes: on land, on the sea, and in the air (on bombers). Many strategists believe that all three "legs" of the U.S. triad should be strong so that if one becomes vulnerable or ineffective, the others will continue to pose a reliable deterrent against Soviet aggression.

United Nations: An international organization chartered in 1945 to promote world peace, security and cooperation. Nearly all nations have representatives to the U.N. At its world headquarters in New York City, the U.N. coordinates international cooperation on many global issues, such as hunger, disease and the environment.

Vietnam War: The war between South Vietnam and communist North Vietnam that began in the 1950s. The United States sent its troops to help the South Vietnamese from 1964 until 1973. North Vietnam defeated South Vietnam in 1975. Today, all of Vietnam is communist.

warhead: The part of a bomb, missile, torpedo, or the like that carries the destructive charge.

Warsaw Pact: A military alliance formed in 1955 between the Soviet Union and its six Eastern European allies, which include East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

APPENDIX F:

THE SUPERPOWERS AND THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

Table of Contents

148 The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1945-1988 (timeline)

150 The U.S. and the World
- Major U.S. Military Alliances
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Members
- Other Major U.S. Treaties
- Defunct U.S. Military Treaties

151 The USSR and the World
- Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact) Members
- Third World Countries with Ties to the Soviet Union

152 The Nuclear Arsenals
153 National Security Timeline
154 Total Strategic Nuclear Weapons: 1960-1988
- Current Nuclear Proliferation

155 Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements Timeline

156 Ongoing Conferences and Negotiations

156 The United Nations

157 Focus: The Soviet Union

The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1945-1988

1945	World War II ends: Germany surrenders, U.S. drops atomic bombs on Japan; Japan surrenders Yalta Conference: Allies divide postwar Europe United Nations charter drafted and signed in San Francisco
1946	Soviets begin takeover of Eastern Europe
1947	Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan: U.S. begins massive aid to non-communist countries
1948	USSR blockades Berlin; U.S. airlifts supplies to Berlin over blockade
1949	People's Republic of China formed by Mao Zedong; China becomes Soviet ally North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) formed USSR explodes its first atomic bomb
1952	Korean War: Communist North Korea and U.S.-supported South Korea go to war; U.S. sends troops; truce arranged in 1954 U.S. tests the first Hydrogen Bomb; Soviets test their own in 1953
1954	Khrushchev is the first Soviet leader to visit U.S.
1955	Warsaw Pact established between the USSR and the Eastern Bloc nations
1956	China and the USSR break their communist alliance
1957	Sputnik: the world's first spacecraft, launched by the USSR
1961	USSR builds the Berlin Wall, dividing East and West Berlin Bay of Pigs invasion: U.S. fails in attempt to overthrow newly formed communist government in Cuba
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis: U.S. and USSR go to brink of nuclear war when Soviets place missiles in Cuba
1963	Limited Test Ban Treaty signed, restricting nuclear weapons tests to underground
1964	China tests its first atomic bomb
1965	Outer Space Treaty signed, banning orbiting nuclear weapons
1966	Anti-Vietnam War movement begins in the U.S.
1967	Six-Day War between Israel and Egypt
1968	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty signed, controlling the spread of nuclear weapons
1969	U.S. lands first person on the Moon
1972	SALT I Treaty, including the ABM Treaty, signed at Nixon-Brezhnev summit Nixon meets Mao Zedong; U.S. and China establish formal relations

1973	U.S. withdraws its troops from Vietnam
	Soyuz-Apollo Mission: U.S. and Soviet spacecrafts link in orbit
	Middle East War: U.S.-supported Israeli troops face Soviet-supported Arab troops
	President Nixon resigns after the Watergate scandal
1975	End of Vietnam War: North Vietnamese invade South Vietnamese capital of Saigon
1977	Negotiations begin on a Comprehensive Test Ban forbidding all nuclear weapons tests
1979	SALT II Treaty signed at Carter-Brezhnev summit, but not ratified by U.S. Senate
	Nicaraguan Revolution: the Sandinistas emerge as the ruling party
	Soviet Union invades Afghanistan to install pro-Soviet government
1980	Iran-Iraq War begins
1981	U.S. begins support of anti-communist Contra rebels in Nicaragua
1982	START Talks: reopening of nuclear arms control talks between the U.S. and the USSR
	Peace Movement: 700,000 people march in New York for a nuclear weapons freeze
1983	Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars," introduced by President Reagan
	U.S. invades Grenada
	Soviets shoot down Korean Airlines flight 007, killing 269
	U.S. begins deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe
	U.S. Marine base in Beirut bombed, 241 U.S. servicemen killed; U.S. troops withdraw from Lebanon
	Television movie "The Day After" watched by 100 million Americans
1985	Soviet testing moratorium: Soviets cease all nuclear explosions for a year (later extended to two years)
1986	U.S. bombs Libyan capital of Tripoli
	Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster
	Reykjavik Summit: Reagan and Gorbachev nearly agree to massive cuts in nuclear weapons
1987	U.S. discovers hidden Soviet microphones throughout its new embassy in Moscow
	Mathias Rust lands small plane in Red Square, evading Soviet air defense system
	Superpowers sign Montreal accords, along with 22 other nations, pledging to protect the ozone layer
	U.S. increases naval presence in Persian Gulf, reflags Kuwaiti tankers to protect shipping lanes
	U.S. and USSR agree to support U.N. resolution calling for cease-fire in Iran-Iraq war
	INF Treaty signed at Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington
1988	Soviets begin to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan
	Moscow Summit: leaders talk of new era in superpower relations; Gorbachev proposes joint Mars mission
	U.S. shoots down Iranian Airbus over Persian Gulf; all on board are killed
	Iran-Iraq war reaches cease-fire
	Cuba agrees to withdraw troops from Angola after negotiations with superpowers
	McDonald's agrees to open franchises in Moscow
1989	George Bush is inaugurated 41st U.S. President
	Soviet government holds large-scale multi-candidate elections
	Solidarity party wins landslide victory over Polish communist party in first democratic elections since 1947
	Chinese troops kill hundreds of citizens in Tiananmen Square, Beijing

The U.S. and the World

Major U.S. Military Alliances

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ANZUS: Australia, New Zealand, United States
OAS: Organization of American States: United States and the countries of Latin America, except Cuba
OECS: Organization of Eastern Caribbean States: United States and Caribbean Islands

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Members

Established in 1949 as protection against Soviet invasion after the Soviets took over Eastern Europe:

Belgium
Britain
Canada
Denmark
Federal Republic of Germany (joined in 1955)
Greece (joined in 1952)
Iceland
Italy
Luxembourg
Netherlands
Norway
Portugal
Spain (joined in 1982)
Turkey (joined in 1952)
United States
France (withdrew from military functions of the alliance in 1966)

Other Major U.S. Military Treaties

The United States has signed treaties with several nations to aid in their defense should they be attacked:

Thailand
Japan
South Korea
Canada
Philippines

Note: Purely formal treaties can be misleading. The U.S. is committed militarily to several countries around the world with which we have no major treaties, such as Israel and Taiwan.

Defunct U.S. Military Treaties:

CENTO: Central Treaty Organization: U.S. and Middle Eastern countries. CENTO dissolved in the late 1970s.

SEATO: South East Asia Treaty Organization: U.S., Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam. Now defunct.

The USSR and the World

Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact) Members

Established in 1955 as a response to the formation of NATO:

Bulgaria
Czechoslovakia
East Germany
Hungary
Poland
Rumania
USSR

Albania formally withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968

Third World Countries with Ties to the Soviet Union

Although the current Soviet leadership has refrained from any listing of Third World allies, Fidel Castro, one of the Soviets' closest allies, provided the following list in a speech to his Party congress on February 4, 1986:

"Permanent" Friends of Cuba in Africa:
Angola
Ethiopia
Mozambique
Tanzania
Zambia
Zimbabwe
Congo
Guinea-Bissau
Madagascar
Seychelles
Benin
Sao Tome
Algeria
Libya
Cape Verde

"New Friends" of Cuba in Africa:
Ghana
Burkina Faso

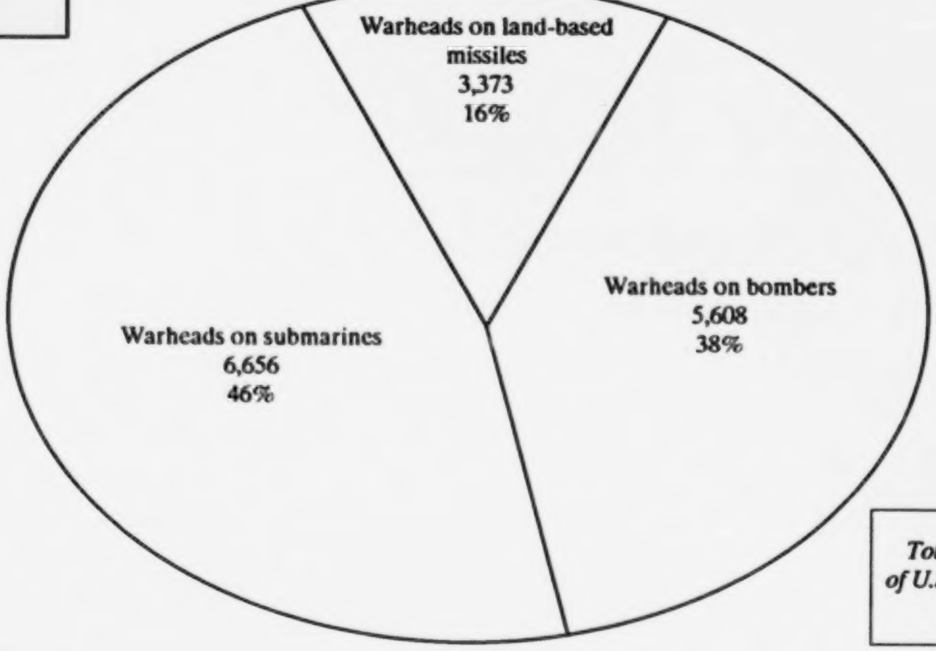
"Socialist-Oriented Countries":
Burma
South Yemen
Syria
Nicaragua

"Progressive" or "Anti-Imperialist" Countries:
India
North Korea
Iraq

"Special Transitory Cases":
Kampuchea (Cambodia)
Afghanistan

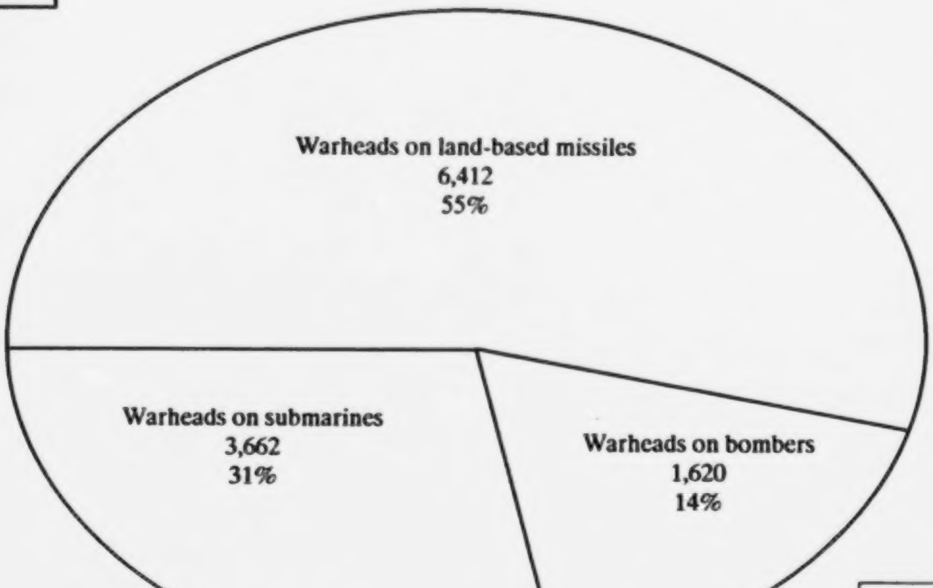
The Nuclear Arsenals

The U.S.



Total number of U.S. warheads: 14,637

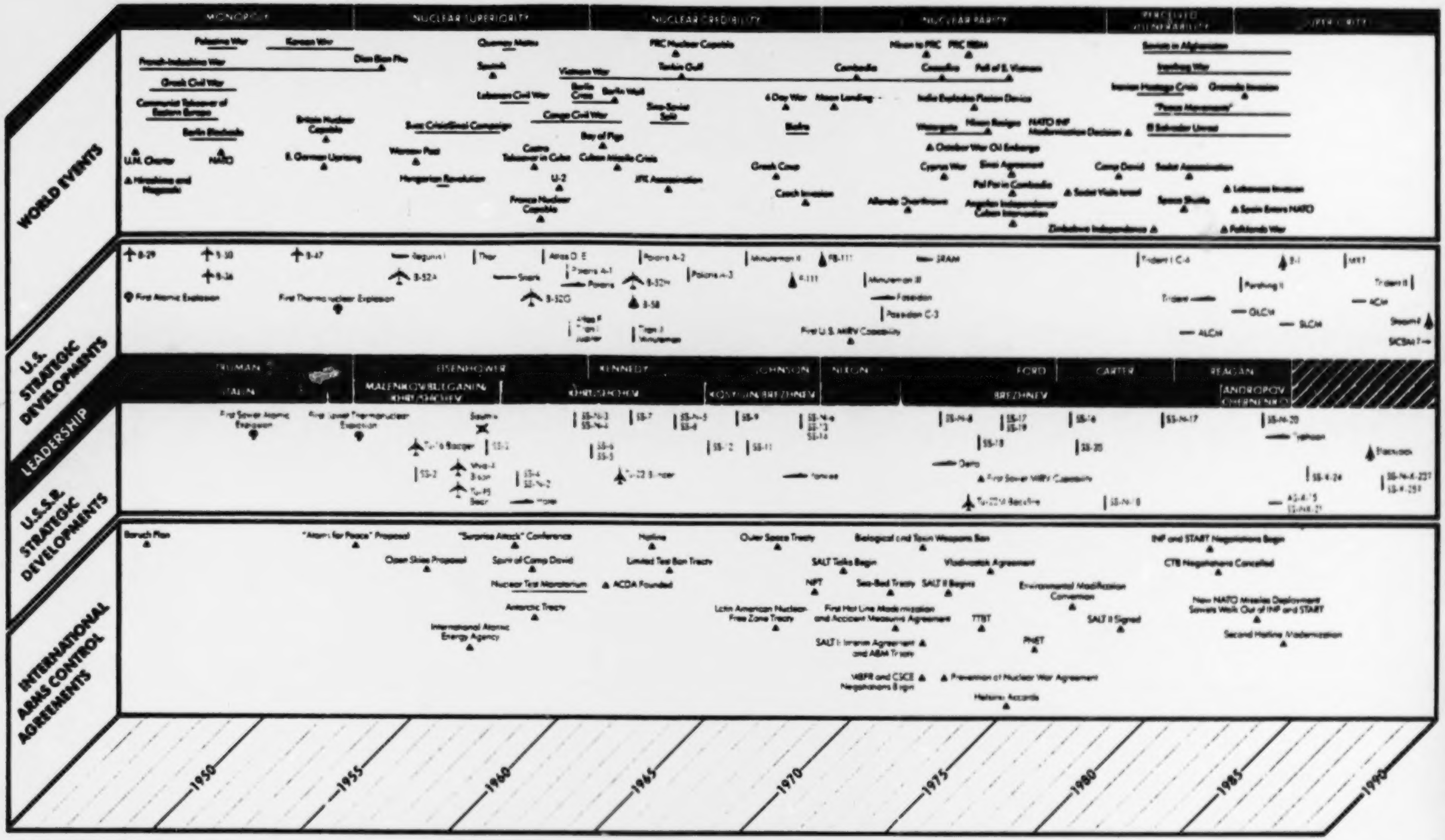
The USSR



Total number of Soviet warheads: 11,694

From *The Military Balance 1988-1989,*
Institute for Strategic Studies, London 1988, p. 230

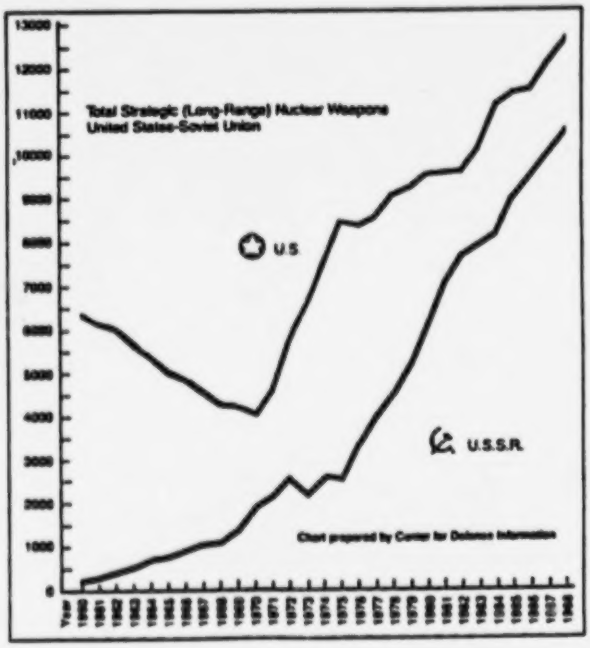
National Security Timeline



From Arms Control and National Security: An Introduction. Published by The Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

To obtain an updated version of the ACA timetable appearing in Arms Control and National Security: An Introduction, contact The Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel. (202) 797-6450.

Total Strategic Nuclear Weapons: 1960-1988



The graph on the right compares the total number of U.S. strategic (long-range) nuclear warheads with the total number of Soviet strategic nuclear warheads. Compare this graph with the pie charts on page 152, which show how the U.S. and Soviet arsenals are divided among long-range bombers, submarines and land-based missiles. This division is known as the nuclear "triad."

When medium-range and short-range nuclear weapons are taken into account, the superpowers have a combined total of over 50,000 nuclear weapons.

Current Nuclear Proliferation

Nations that have nuclear weapons:
- United States
- Soviet Union
- China* (284-389 warheads)
- Great Britain* (534 warheads)
- France* (473 warheads)

Nations believed to have nuclear weapons:
- India **
- Israel **
- South Africa **

Nations that have sought to develop or acquire nuclear weapons:
- Argentina **
- Brazil **
- Iran
- Iraq
- Libya
- Pakistan **
- South Korea*
- Taiwan

* Figures from SIPRI 1987 Yearbook (London and New York: Oxford, 1987)
** Countries that have not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

Note: most of the countries of Eastern and Western Europe, Egypt, Mexico, Canada, Japan and the Philippines are capable of producing nuclear weapons.

Arms Control and Disarmament Agreements Timeline

1925 *Geneva Protocol*:	bans the use of chemical weapons; signed by 46 nations.
1959 *Antarctica Treaty*:	prohibits military use of Antarctica; signed by the U.S., USSR and ten other nations.
1963 *Hot Line Agreement*:	in case of emergencies, provides for immediate transmission of written material (essentially by teletype) between the U.S. and the USSR heads of state.
1963 *Limited Test Ban Treaty*:	restricts nuclear test explosions to underground sites; signed by U.S., USSR and 104 other nations.
1967 *Treaty of Tlatelolco*:	establishes Latin America as a Nuclear Free Zone; signed by 25 nations.
1967 *Outer Space Treaty*:	prohibits placing nuclear weapons in orbit; signed by U.S., USSR and 87 other nations.
1968 *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty*:	non-nuclear states agree not to acquire nuclear weapons, nuclear states promise not to transfer nuclear technology to non-nuclear states; signed by the U.S., USSR and 95 other nations.
1971 *Sea-Bed Treaty*:	prohibits states from placing nuclear weapons on or under the ocean floor; signed by the U.S., USSR and 64 other nations.
1971 *Nuclear Accidents Agreement*:	U.S. and the USSR promise to notify one another of accidental launches or detonations of nuclear weapons.
1972 *Biological Weapons Convention*:	prohibits the development and use of biological, or "germ," weapons; signed by 111 nations.
1972 *SALT I Agreements*:	sets limits on number of nuclear weapons the U.S. and USSR can have, and includes the Antiballistic Missile Treaty (ABM), which limits the number of antiballistic missiles. The Soviets contend that the deployment of SDI would violate this treaty.
1979 *SALT II Treaty*:	sets strict limits on the numbers of nuclear weapons the U.S. and the USSR can have; never ratified by the U.S. Senate.
1987 *INF Treaty*:	the U.S. and the USSR agree to remove (and destroy) all of their medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

Ongoing Conferences and Negotiations

Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (since 1973):	ongoing talks intended to reduce the level of conventional armaments in Europe; plagued by U.S.-Soviet disagreement over actual numbers of the troops and weapons on each side.
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (since 1973):	developed the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, stating a common policy to reduce the dangers of a war erupting as a result of misunderstandings; it provides for ongoing conferences to review the progress of the agreed policies.
Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (since 1977):	created to prohibit nuclear weapons tests; still unconcluded, and suspended in November 1980. However, in early 1989, 41 signatories of the Limited Test Ban Treaty officially requested that a conference be held to discuss expanding the LTBT to limit *all* nuclear tests. As of late 1989, no date has been set for the conference, but there is growing international pressure for the world's nuclear powers to halt all nuclear weapons testing.
Strategic Arms Reductions Talks, or START (since 1982):	talks between the U.S. and the USSR for the reduction of the numbers of strategic weapons; as of early 1989, no agreement has been reached, but the future looks promising.

The United Nations

In 1945, near the end of World War II, the United Nations charter was drafted and signed in San Francisco, California. Intended to be a forum for the nations of the world to devise peaceful solutions to international conflicts as they arose, the U.N. Charter also gave this body a role in promoting the growth of worldwide prosperity. However, the U.N. has often failed to exert its intended influence because of U.S.-Soviet competition. Since each holds a veto on the *Security Council*, the two superpowers can undermine each other's actions.

Membership: the U.N. currently has 159 member nations

General Assembly: the primary organ of the U.N., where each member nation has one vote

Security Council: the organ of the U.N. devoted to resolving international conflicts. It has 15 member nations. Five nations are permanent members and possess the power of veto: the U.S., USSR, China, France and Britain. The other ten seats of the Security Council rotate among the other members of the General Assembly.

Economic and Social Council: over 80% of the U.N.'s funds are devoted to the economic and social efforts coordinated by this council. The council has 54 members and it is in charge of 14 specialized agencies including the WHO (World Health Organization), and UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization).

International Court of Justice (World Court): all members of the U.N. are party to the statutes of this court. There are 15 judges who are elected by the general assembly and serve nine-year terms.

Focus: the Soviet Union

Area: eight and a half million square miles; slightly less than 2.5 times the size of the United States and almost equal to the land areas of the United States, China, and Western Europe combined; spread over 11 time zones; many northern areas get only a few minutes of darkness each day during the summer.

Neighboring countries: Norway, Finland, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, China, Mongolia, North Korea, Japan and the United States (Alaska).

Land description: mostly flat, with large areas poorly suited for agriculture, and inaccessible from the world's major sea lanes; rich in many resources and strategic materials, including oil, natural gas, coal and timber; comprising three major areas:

> *European Russia:* most familiar to Americans; includes most of the nation's industry, population, best farmland and resort areas; includes Moscow, Leningrad, and the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia as well as the Ukraine and Byelorussia.
>
> *Central Asia:* mostly desert area populated by Muslims of Asian and Middle Eastern descent; site of recent ethnic controversies in the republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as a devastating earthquake in Armenia; raw materials and primary products, rather than heavy industry, are the focus of economic activity.
>
> *Siberia:* the largest region, reaching almost to the Pacific Ocean; contains more than half of Soviet territory but only about 10% of the population; difficult for the Soviet leadership to develop Siberia for its natural resources since migrants find the terrain, climate, and general living conditions unattractive.

People: the Soviet Union is a multinational state with approximately 285,000,000 people; only approximately 52% of the Soviet population are Russians; Slavic peoples include not only Russians, but Byelorussians and Ukrainians, and constitute 72% of the population; remaining population consists of over one hundred nationalities and ethnic groups speaking over two hundred languages and dialects and using five different alphabets. (Russian is the official language.) While in the past the non-Russian groups have been passive in the face of "Russification" (imposing Russian language and culture), Gorbachev's reforms have opened the way for them to assert themselves. The Baltics are seeking more independence, while in the Caucusus and Central Asia bloodshed has occured as non-Russian groups attacked each other.

Government: the ruling power in the Soviet Union is changing, under Gorbachev, from the two dozen people at the top of the Communist Party to a system with some elements of democracy. A new Congress was elected, allowing voters a choice of candidates and the right to vote "none of the above." Some top Communist officials were rejected. The Congress elected Gorbachev as President and chose representatives to work out new laws. The lawmakers engage in sharp debate and have begun breaking into factions. No one can say how far this democratization will go, nor if it will last.

Economy: Gross National Product, 1987 (estimated): $2,375 billion -- about 53% of the U.S. figure.

Per capita GNP (estimated): $8,362 -- about half of the U.S. figure.

Percentage of GNP devoted to defense: at least 15-18%, compared to 5-6% for the U.S. (By recent CIA estimates the figure may be as high as 20%.) Comparisons of U.S. and Soviet military spending are controversial because their economies have radically different structures.

Agriculture: the Soviet Union produces various agricultural goods, such as grain (especially wheat), potatoes, sugar beets and cotton. However, crop yields fluctuate due to climate, and many Soviet production and storage methods are inefficient, often forcing the Soviet Union to import these very same products. Over the past decade, they have been unusually dependent on grain imports from the U.S. and other Western countries.

Industry: Soviet industry has been under complete government control with the central purpose of producing heavy industry and military goods in high quantities – which it does very effectively. But making all major management decisions from Moscow has led to poor quality control, supply shortages and bottlenecks, and failure to take advantage of new technology. As a result, Soviet consumer goods are in short supply and often of such poor quality that they can only be exported to countries dependent on Soviet good will. Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms are intended to rejuvenate Soviet industry, in part by allowing more initiative and flexibility at the factory level.

APPENDIX G: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Table of Contents

160 Books

163 Articles

165 Supplemental Sources on Subjects Covered in Student Timeline

Bibliography

BOOKS

Books marked with an asterisk (*) are generally suitable for most students who have little background in the subject.

On Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control

Allison, Graham T., Albert Carnesale, and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., eds. *Hawks, Doves, and Owls: An Agenda for Avoiding Nuclear War*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1985.
Essays discussing possible paths to nuclear war. The editors' conclusion proposes an alternative to the familiar "hawk/dove" dichotomy of approaching defense and deterrence issues.

* Boyer, Paul. *By the Bomb's Early Light*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.
An indepth study of how the employment of the atomic bomb permeated American culture.

* Carnesale, Albert, et al., Harvard Nuclear Study Group. *Living with Nuclear Weapons*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
An introduction to nuclear history and strategy. The authors argue that we must accept the existence of nuclear weapons and develop effective strategies to ensure that they are never used.

Gregory, Donna, ed. *The Nuclear Predicament*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986.
A collection of articles by prominent authors on aspects of the nuclear arms race.

Fischer, Dietrich. *Preventing War in the Nuclear Age*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984.
Focuses on ways of preventing war by analyzing military doctrine.

Fisher, Roger, and William Ury. *Getting to Yes: How to Negotiate Agreement without Giving In*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.
Focuses not on the arms race *per se*, but on broadly effective negotiating strategies.

Harris, John B., and Eric Markusen, eds. *Nuclear Weapons and the Threat of Nuclear War*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.
A collection of articles by prominent authors on different issues related to nuclear weapons and the arms race.

* Hersey, John. *Hiroshima*. New York: The Limited Editions Club, 1983.
An account of the aftermath of the atomic attack on Hiroshima, as remembered by six survivors.

Levine, Herbert M., and David Carlton, eds. *The Nuclear Arms Race Debated*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1986.
A collection of "pro" and "con" arguments on various issues relating to the nuclear arms race.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology. *The Nuclear Almanac*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1984.
A collection of essays, edited by MIT faculty members, which explores the development, use and control of nuclear power.

McNamara, Robert S. *Blundering Into Disaster.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
The former Secretary of Defense gives his appraisal of the nuclear dilemma, offers alternatives for the next half century, and argues that a decreasing reliance on nuclear weapons will improve security.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops. *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response.* Washington: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1983.
The official position of the American Catholic church on the ethical status of nuclear deterrence.

Newhouse, John. *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989.
The companion volume to the PBS documentary series of the same name. Newhouse uses many anecdotes to show how the conduct of human affairs has affected the role of nuclear weapons in the last five decades.

Schell, Jonathan. *The Fate of the Earth.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982.
An intelligent argument for disarmament, drawing primarily from the humanist tradition in Western culture, rather than from social-scientific sources.

Semler, H. Eric. *The Language of Nuclear War.* New York: Harper and Row, 1987.
An easy-to-read dictionary of nuclear terms.

Smoke, Richard. *National Security and the Nuclear Dilemma: An Introduction to the American Experience.* New York: Random House, 1987.
Smoke covers the history of nuclear deterrence, arms control negotiations, and the weapons build-ups on both sides.

* Smoke, Richard. *Think About Nuclear Arms Control: Understanding the Arms Race.* New York: Walker, 1988.
A Think Series book, written for a high school audience, which traces the history of the arms race, the current debate on arms control issues, and possible future directions on this crucial topic.

Ury, William. *Beyond the Hotline: How We Can Prevent the Crisis that Might Bring On a Nuclear War.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985.
A book on unilateral and bilateral ways to lessen the risk of a world crisis escalating into a nuclear war.

White, Ralph K., ed. *Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War.* New York: New York University Press, 1986.
A collection of essays by social scientists on the psychological aspects of understand ing and preventing nuclear war.

On The Soviet Union and U.S.-Soviet Relations

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Game Plan: How To Conduct the U.S.-Soviet Contest.* New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986.
The former National Security Advisor argues that the historical rivalry between the superpowers is inevitable given the nature of their two systems. He offers a strategy that he claims will allow the U.S. to prevail in the long term without resorting to or even approaching a nuclear confrontation.

Cohen, Stephen F. *Sovieticus: American Perceptions and Soviet Realities.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1985.

An insightful collection of brief essays on the Soviet Union from a liberal perspective.

Daniels, Robert V. *Russia: The Roots of Confrontation.* Harvard University Press, 1985.

A history of the Soviet Union focusing on how current Soviet attitudes are a product of Soviet history and do not necessarily match American preconceived notions of the motivations and aspirations of the Soviet people.

* English, Robert D., and Jonathan J. Halperin, eds. *The Other Side: How Soviets and Americans Perceive Each Other.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1987.

An excellent, educational, and easy-to-read book about how ordinary people in the Soviet Union and the United States perceive each other.

* The Foreign Policy Association. *A Cartoon History of United States Foreign Policy, 1776-1976.* New York: William Morrow, 1975.

A survey of political cartoons in American history, with many examples on U.S.-Soviet relations.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment.* Oxford University Press, 1982.

A scholarly historical analysis of containment policy.

Gorbachev, Mikhail S. *Gorbachev: Mandate for Peace.* Toronto: PaperJacks, 1987.

A collection of speeches, statements and letters by the leader of the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev, Mikhail S. *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World.* New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

Gorbachev's vision of how he would like to change the internal situation in the Soviet Union and how he would like to see conditions change on the international level.

Gromyko, Anatoly, and Martin Hellman, eds. *Breakthrough: Emerging New Thinking.* New York: Walker, 1988.

A collection of essays by both Western and Soviet scholars, on world politics and the future. The book was published simultaneously in the Soviet Union and the United States.

Levering, Ralph B. *The Cold War: 1945-1987.* Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1987.

Part of The American History Series, focuses on a central theme or issue that presents American historians with problems of interpretation.

Luttwak, Edward N. *The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

Interprets Soviet policy as the result of successive ideological, political and economic failures, and argues that today's Soviet Union is no longer Lenin's creation, but a great military empire that is constantly seeking to expand.

Krauss, Melvyn. *How NATO Weakens the West.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986.

Argues that both the United States and Europe would be safer if NATO were disbanded and U.S. forces were withdrawn from abroad.

Nixon, Richard. *Real Peace.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.

The former President offers his view on how we can compete with the Soviets -- with whom we have irreconcilable differences -- while avoiding a nuclear war.

Shipler, David K. *Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams.* New York: Times Books, 1983.
The former Moscow bureau chief of *The New York Times* unveils an intimate portrait of the Russian people, and the effect that living in a police state has on them.

Smith, Hedrick. *The Russians.* New York: Ballantine, 1976.
A bestseller by a former *New York Times* correspondent on life in the Soviet Union during detente.

* Smolan, Rich and David Cohen. *A Day in the Life of the Soviet Union.* New York: Collins Publishers, 1987.
A pictorial account of one day in the Soviet Union.

* Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich.* New York: Praeger, 1963.
A fictional account of a day in the life of a political prisoner in a work camp in Siberia.

Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *The Gulag Archipelago.* New York: Harper and Row, 1974-1978.
Anecdotal history of the life of Soviet political prisoners in the Soviet penal system.

Weisberger, Bernard A. *Cold War, Cold Peace.* New York: American Heritage, 1984.
A history of the Cold War, with a section of famous photographs.

On Global Power and Problems

Brown, Lester R., et al. *State of the World 1989.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.
An annual report by the Worldwatch Institute on global issues, which is widely read around the world.

Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers.* New York: Random House, 1987.
Covering the years 1500-2000, Kennedy analyzes how the triumph of nations with strong economic and productive resources over nations that are militarily top heavy facilitates transference of global power.

*Kidron, Michael and Ronald Segal. *The New State of the World Atlas.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984.
A collection of colorful maps that dramatically illustrate such global issues as the distribution of food, weapons, money and resources.

World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
Proposals by a United Nations commission on environmental and developmental issues.

ARTICLES

On Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control

Bethe, Hans, and Robert S. McNamara. "Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War," *Atlantic Monthly* (July 1985): 43-51.
A Nobel Prize-winning scientist and a former Defense Secretary argue over possibilities to make the 21st century more secure.

Davis, Lynn E. "Lessons of the INF Treaty," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1988): 720-734.
Examines the history of the INF Treaty negotiations.

Glynn, Patrick. "Reagan's Rush To Disarm," *Commentary* (March 1988): 19-28.
A former Reagan appointee to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency argues against a START agreement in 1988 and for a very cautious approach to improving U.S.-Soviet relations.

Harvard Nuclear Study Group. "The Realities of Arms Control: A Primer for Laymen," *Atlantic Monthly* (June 1983): 39-49.
Argues that disarmament is impossible without a transformation of the international political system, which is not possible in the near future. While disarmament is a worthwhile long-term goal, it would actually increase the chance of nuclear war if it occurred before the necessary development of trust between the superpowers.

On the Soviet Union and U.S.-Soviet Relations

Klass, Rosanne. "Afghanistan: The Accords," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1988): 922-945.
Explains the peace agreement in Afghanistan and offers a pessimistic assessment of its implications for the future of the country.

"Mikhail Gorbachev: Man of the Year," *Time* (4 January 1988): 16-25+.
One of the best short discussions of Gorbachev's background and goals.

"The New U.S.S.R.," *Time* (10 April 1989).
A special issue on political and social trends in the Soviet Union.

"People Goes to Russia," *People Magazine* (6 April 1987).
Devoted entirely to the USSR.

Rostow, Eugene. "Why the Soviet Union Wants an Arms Control Agreement, and Why They Want It Now," *Commentary* (February 1987): 19-26.
Claims that the Soviet proposals for deep cuts in nuclear weapons at the Reykjavik Summit were a smokescreen for their real goal of attaining nuclear superiority and a monopoly on defensive weapon systems.

Schememann, Serge. "The View from Russia," *The New York Times Magazine* (10 November 1985): 51-64.
Sources of Soviet perceptions of the U.S.

Sharansky, Natan. "As I See Gorbachev," *Commentary* (March 1988): 29-34.
A former Soviet Jewish leader and human rights activist who spent nine years in Soviet prisons paints a skeptical portrait of Gorbachev and Glasnost.

Smoke, Richard and Daniel Yankelovich. "America's 'New Thinking,' " *Foreign Affairs* (Fall 1988): 1-17.
Draws on public opinion research to analyze what Americans think of U.S. Soviet relations in light of Soviet "new thinking."

Starr, Frederick S. "The Soviet Union: A Civil Society," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1988): 26-41.
Starr argues that the Soviet Union is becoming increasingly democratic for reasons largely beyond the government's control, and speculates on the implications for U.S.-Soviet relations.

SUPPLEMENTAL SOURCES ON SUBJECTS COVERED IN STUDENT TIMELINE

On U.S.-Soviet Cooperation in World War II

Cullen, R. B. "A Missing Ally [V-E Day observances]," *Newsweek* 105 (29 April 1985): 26-8.

Daniloff, N. "Behind Moscow's Version of the Great Patriotic War," *U.S. News and World Report* 98 (6 May 1985): 59.

Davidson, Spencer. "Elbe Meeting [40th anniversary of encounter between American and Soviet soldiers]," *Time* 125 (6 May 1985): 36.

"The Legacies of World War II [special section]," *U.S. News and World Report* 99 (5 August 1985): 38-52, 70.

On the Formation of NATO, and NATO Today

Barry, J. and R. Watson. "Can Europe Stand on Its Own Two Feet?" *Newsweek* 110 (7 December 1987): 31-2+.

Chace, J. "Ike Was Right [reducing deployment of our troops in Europe]," *Atlantic* 260 (August 1987): 39-41.

Keegan, J. "Why Arms Talks Unnerve NATO," *U.S. News and World Report* 102 (20 April 1987): 28-30.

Kissinger, Henry. "Kissinger: A New Era for NATO," *Newsweek* 110 (12 October 1987): 57-8+.

Kondracke, M. "Make 'Em Pay [getting America's allies to shoulder more of the burden for their own defense]," *New Republic* 197 (12 October 1987): 15-17.

Redman, C. "Nervous About Nuclear Security [NATO allies object to possible removal of INF missiles]," *Time* 129 (11 May 1987): 37.

"Should the U.S. Stay in NATO? [symposium]" *Harpers* 268 (July 1984): 31-8+.

On the Berlin Wall

"Don't Shoot! I Have a Baby in My Stomach!" *Time* 132 (5 September 1988): 30.

Pope, V. "The Wall at 25: Symbol of Unending Confrontation," *U.S. News and World Report* 101 (18 August 1986): 28-9.

Ryback, T. W. "Why the Wall Still Stands," *Atlantic* 258 (August 1986): 20+.

Seward, D. "The Berlin Wall: 25 Years On," *Newsweek* 108 (18 August 1986): 5.

Smolowe, Jill. "Tale of a Sundered City," *Time* 128 (18 August 1986): 32-4.

Sommer, T. "A Symbol of Abnormality," *Newsweek* 108 (25 August 1986): 8.

On the Cuban Missile Crisis

Garthoff, R. L. "Cuba: Even Dicier Than We Knew," *Newsweek* 110 (26 October 1987): 34.

"Cuban Missile Crisis: The Soviet Story," *Foreign Policy* 72 (Fall 1988): 61-80.

Greenfield, M. "Time to Recall this Model?" *Newsweek* 110 (21 September 1987): 84.

Kennedy, Robert. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1969.

Lukas, J. A. "Class Reunion: Kennedy's Men Relive the Cuban Missile Crisis," *New York Times Magazine* (30 August 1987): 22-7+.

On the U.S. in Vietnam

"Ceremonies: A Year for Marking the Ends of Two Wars," *Life* 9 (January 1986): 41-45.

Karnow, Stanley. *Vietnam: A History.* New York: Viking Press, 1983.

LeBoutillier, J. "Coming to Terms with Vietnam," *New York Times Magazine* (1 May 1988): 84-51+.

"No White Feather, Please," *New Republic* 194 (16 June 1986): 4.

Pike, D.E. and B.N. Ward. "Losing and Winning Abroad: Korea and Vietnam as Successes," *Current* 302 (May 1988): 28-33.

Watson, R. "The Lessons of Vietnam," *Newsweek* 111 (16 May 1988): 40.

"What did you do in the War, Daddy?" *Newsweek* 112 (5 September 1988): 29.

On Détente Between the Superpowers

Amalrik, A. "U.S. Pursuit of Détente Can Only Lead to Catastrophe," *U.S. News and World Report* 81 (25 October 1976): 55.

Arbatov, G. "Soviet View of Détente," *Newsweek* 87 (1 March 1976): 11.

Morris, R. "Détente Is in the Eye of the Beholder," *New York Times Magazine* (30 May 1976): 7+.

On Improved U.S.-China Relations

Howard, B. "Changing Images: the U.S. and China," *Scholastic Update* 120 (18 September 1987): 20+.

Manning, S. "You Decide U.S. Rights Policy toward China," *Scholastic Update (Teachers Edition)* 121 (21 October 1988): 20.

Robinson, T.W. "The U.S. and China in the New Balance of Power," *Current History* 84 (September 1985): 241-244+.

"There have been Extraordinary Changes," *U.S. News and World Report* 101 (8 September 1986): 33.

On the Soviets in Afghanistan

Borovik, A. "What Kind of War was This?" (special section) *U.S. News and World Report* 104 (30 May 1988): 26-29+.

"Chill of a New Cold War," *Newsweek* 95 (14 January 1980): 24-27.

Grogan, D. "A Tale of Two Wars: Vietnam Vet Helps to Heal Russia's Traumatized Afgantsy," *People Weekly* 30 (24 October 1988): 119-120.

Kaplan, R.D. "Why the Afghans Fight," *Reader's Digest* 132 (May 1988): 128-132.

MacFarquhas, E. "Now for the Next All-Afghan War," (special section) *U.S. News and World Report* 104 (30 May 1988): 26-29+.

Talbott, S. "Back to Maps and Raw Power," *Time* 115 (21 January 1980): 24+.

Thorne, L. "Afghanistan through Soviet Eyes," *USA Today* 116 (May 1988): 64-68.

On the "Star Wars" Strategic Defense Initiative

Clancy, T. "Common Sense about Strategic Defense," *Reader's Digest* 133 (August 1988): 49-52.

Graham, General Daniel O. *High Frontier.* New York: TOR, 1983.
An easy-to-read argument in favor of the "Star Wars" system.

Griener, G.E. "Star Wars and Moral Choices," *America* 158 (20 February 1988): 182-186.

Jastrow, Robert. *How to Make Nuclear Weapons Obsolete.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1985.
Argues that we should pursue the "Star Wars" Strategic Defense Initiative as a way to save civilization from nuclear peril.

Teller, E. "Father of Star Wars," *U.S. News and World Report* 104 (8 February 1988): 56.

Union of Concerned Scientists. *The Fallacy of Star Wars.* New York: Vintage Press, 1984.
A critique of the Strategic Defense Initiative which argues that an SDI system would be unable to provide an adequate defensive shield for the population, would stimulate the arms race, and might actually make a nuclear war more likely.

On the INF Treaty

"Bombs Away," *New Republic* 197 (12 October 1987): 7-8.

Galloway, J.L. "The Superpower Tango," *U.S. News and World Report* 103 (7 September 1987): 18.

Greenwald, J. "Closing the Gap," *Time* 130 (7 September 1987): 12-13.

"The Last Chance We Have," *Newsweek* 110 (21 December 1987): 14-20+.

Rostow, E.V. "The INF Trap," *New Republic* 197 (24 August 1987): 16-17.

"The Spirit of Washington," *Time* 130 (21 December 1987): 16-23+.

Talbott, S. "Heading Toward a 4% Reduction" [Need for strategic arms reductions beyond those gained through INF negotiations], *Time* 130 (21 September 1987): 28-29.

FOUR FUTURES BALLOT

Now is your chance to decide for yourself which Future can best prevent nuclear war, while preserving our values. As you fill out the ballot below, keep in mind what you have heard and discussed in class. As in an election ballot, there are no "right" or "wrong" responses.

Tough questions facing Americans today

Does the Soviet Union threaten our country and our values?

Can we and the Soviets end the nuclear arms race?

Can we trust the Soviets?

Does having nuclear weapons make our country safer?

Should America get involved in wars in faraway countries?

Comparing the four Futures

How do you feel about the four Futures you have reviewed? Mark how strongly you favor or oppose each Future.

	STRONGLY FAVOR	SOMEWHAT FAVOR	SOMEWHAT OPPOSE	STRONGLY OPPOSE	NOT SURE
FUTURE ONE: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand *Grow more powerful than the Soviets militarily, economically, and politically, until they no longer threaten the U.S.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FUTURE TWO: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise *End the arms race and reduce the risk of a major war with the Soviets, but still compete with them for influence around the world.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FUTURE THREE: Cooperative Problem Solving *Cooperate closely with the Soviets on common problems facing both nations, like terrorism, in order to build trust.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FUTURE FOUR: Defend Only North America *Gradually bring our troops home and let our allies take care of themselves. Focus on problems at home.*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Evaluating the Futures

Which Future do you think is the *most* dangerous?

Which Future do you think is the *least* dangerous?

Which Future do you think will *most* likely happen by 2010?

Which Future do you think will *least* likely happen by 2010?

How did you like the Futures?

What do you like about Future 1?

What do you like about Future 2?

What do you like about Future 3?

What do you like about Future 4?

What Future should our country work toward?

Imagine you are a White House advisor and the President wants your opinion on which Future the U.S. should follow. Rank the Futures, with "1" being the best Future our country should follow, "2" being the second best policy, etc.

FUTURE 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand	☐
FUTURE 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise	☐
FUTURE 3: Cooperative Problem Solving	☐
FUTURE 4: Defend Only North America	☐